

POL

27 - 9

BIAFRA - NIGERIA

11/1/69

Systematic declassification review of material in this folder
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3/19/96

BM
(Date and Reviewer's Initials)

The remaining material was declassified as of that date.

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Pal 27-9 Benfra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

30

SECRET 294

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01242 291038Z

2111
ACTION: UCF-01

INFO: OCT-01 SS-20 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05

INR-06 DODE-00 EUR-12 RSR-01 RSC-01 /061 W
086500

R 290716Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO USMISSION GENEVA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2980

SECRET LIBREVILLE 1242

LIMDIS:

NOFORN:

SUBJECT: FRENCH-FRC SECRET UNDERSTANDING

REF: GENEVA 4187

VIEW CONTROLS PLACED ON REFTEL, EMB HAS NOT RPT NOT BEEN ABLE
VERIFY CURIOUS REPORT OF PRESIDENT FRENCH RED CROSS. HOWEVER, WE
BELIEVE SOMETHING MUST BE MISSING: A) FRENCH JUST INCREASED
AIRLIFT CAPACITY TO 3 PLANES (LIBREVILLE 1234); B) TWO FRENCH
RC PLANES WERE RECENTLY ATTACKED AT ULI, ONE OF WHICH TEMPORARILY
OUT OF COMMISSION (LIBREVILLE 1234); C) HALF FRENCH RC AIRLIFT MAY
HAVE BEEN POL BUT THIS PROBABLY ABNORMAL SITUATION (LIBREVILLE 1231).
IN SUMMARY, WE BELIEVE FRENCH QUITE CAPABLE OF GETTING WORD TO
LAGOS REGARDING VARIOUS FORMS OF POSSIBLE RETALIATION BUT WOULD
DOUBT EXISTENCE "SECRET AGREEMENT" ON BASIS INFO AVAILABLE HERE.
PERHAPS "TACIT UNDERSTANDING" OBTAINED IN PAST. GP-4
FUNKHOUSER

SECRET

028-1

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Authority VND 959503
By MNA Date 10/5/05



Pal 27-9 Benin-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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UNCLASSIFIED 297

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01246 291035Z

22:
ACTION EA-15:

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 SS-20 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 RSC-01

RSR-01 /057 W

086495

R: 290930Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO AMEMBASSY SEOUL
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
SECSTATE WASHDC 2983

UNCLAS LIBREVILLE 1246

SUBJECT: KOREAN MEDICAL TEAM

REF: LIBREVILLE 1235

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO ROKG FONMIN (ABIDJAN PLEASE INFORM ROK EMBASSY)

2. QTE MISSION COMPLETED SUCCESSFULLY. MINISTER OF HEALTH FINALLY AGREED TO KEEP OUR DOCTORS IN LIBREVILLE FOR A WHILE AND ASSIGNED BOTH TO CENTRAL HOSPITAL (600 BEDS) IN LIBREVILLE.

3. DOCTORS WILL MOVE IN TO A HOUSE ON 28 NOVEMBER. LIVING CONDITION ARE SATISFACTORY. MINISTER OF HEALTH ALSO PROMISED TO PLACE A CAR AT THE DISPOSAL OF OUR DOCTORS. JOUNG SOO LEE. UNQTE. PUNKHOUSER

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Authority VND 959/503
By MNA Date 10/3/05

*Libreville 1246
11-29-69*

Pal 27-9 Benin-Nigeria

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

Pol FR-Nigeria

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RM/R	REP	AF
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ARA	EUR	FC
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NEA	CU	INR
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1	10	2
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INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	16	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
		NSC
		6

A-533

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TO : Department of State

INFO : IBADAN, KADUNA, LONDON, PARIS, USMISSION GENEVA,
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

DATE: November 29, 1969

SUBJECT : Nigeria and France

REF :

Attached is the text of an FMG Press Release issued November 22, 1969, giving the text of a statement by the France-Nigeria Committee which rebuts charges made in the French Parliament by M. Marette, who is one of the leaders of the pro-Biafra movement in France.

Comment: The France-Nigeria Committee is a recently formed group made up of a number of Lagos businessmen, traditional chiefs, and ex-politicians, mostly Yoruba, and the managers of all of the French-owned and operated companies in Lagos. A French Embassy source said that the Committee has not yet been registered, although permission has been obtained from the FMG for its formation. He also said that the Committee was collecting money from all of the French businessmen to present to the Nigerian Red Cross or perhaps the FMG for relief and rehabilitation projects. He said that they will probably be turning over at least E25,000 since Safrap alone is said to have contributed E10,000.

This press release seems to be part of a recently stepped-up FMG campaign aimed at countering rebel propaganda in France and persuading the GOF to withdraw its support of Biafra. The Embassy notes FBIS Puerto Rico's C242131 carried an AFP item from Lagos reporting a newstalk on Lagos radio which charged that France's pro-Biafran policy was the responsibility of a "small clique" of pro-rebel elements in French Cabinet. The newstalk charged that this clique had misled General de Gaulle and claimed that President Pompidou was now carrying out a reappraisal of French policy toward Nigeria. The program praised France for its sensible withdrawal from Algeria and its gracious granting of independence to the former French African territories, and said that support for Biafra was illogical in the light of these past actions.

Enclosure:

FMG Press Release

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FORM 4-62 PS-323 No. 1257

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Drafted by:

POI:GFCar/r:mjr

11/28/69

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL:EEBamsaurjr

Clearances:

1969 DEC 1 PM 6 42

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Authority

By

MARA Date

VND 959503
10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 303

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04268 281631Z

41
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04

SCA-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 RSR-01

/154 W

081704

R 281530Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3848
INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4268

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN/BIAFRA RELIEF

REF: GENEVA 4255

1. BEER AND DABNEY IN MEETING WITH MARKS AND DAVIDSON NOTED LICROSS AND ICRC PREPARING JOINT RESPONSE TO SCANDINAVIANS (FINNISH, SWEDISH AND DANISH RC SOCIETIES) REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON FUTURE LICROSS AND ICRC ACTIVITIES. LETTER WILL EXPLAIN PLANS FOR WORK ON BOTH SIDES OF BATTLELINES. LICROSS IN NIGERIA: ICRC MEDICAL PROGRAM IN BIAFRA AND ITS TRADITIONAL WORK IN NIGERIA. SCANDINAVIAN RC SOCIETIES HAVE REQUESTED LETTER IN ORDER THAT MONEY CURRENTLY AVAILABLE TO THEM FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOT BE LOST TO NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF PROGRAM. SUM CONSISTS OF MILLIONS IN RESPECTIVE CURRENCIES. SCANDINAVIAN SOCIETIES DO NOT WANT TO BE MIDDLEMEN IN CHANNELING FUNDS AVAILABLE FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS BUT REQUEST LICROSS AND ICRC GENEVA TO RECEIVE AND ADMINISTER SUCH CONTRIBUTIONS. THIS WILL ASSURE DONORS THAT FUNDS COLLECTED WILL BE EFFICIENTLY UTILIZED IN LINE

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



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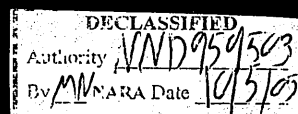
PAGE 02 GENEVA 04268 281631Z

WITH RC STANDARDS. COPIES OF LETTER TO BE SENT TO CANADIAN, WEST GERMANY, U.S. AND OTHER RC SOCIETIES.

2. LICROSS EXPECTS DESIGNATE PERMANENT LIAISON REPRESENTATIVE IN LAGOS TO WORK CLOSELY WITH NIGERIAN RC. WOULD PREFER AMERICAN AND INFORMAWRY INDICATED STRONG INTEREST IN ALLAN PLATT WHO ACCORDING TO ARC IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE EAGER TO RETURN TO NIGERIA. STANISSIS AS DESK OFFICER GENEVA WOULD CONTINUE MAKE PERIODIC VISITS TO NIGERIA. LICROSS ALSO WILLING ASSIST AS REQUIRED IN RECRUITING TECHNICAL PERSONNEL FROM MEMBER NATIONAL SOCIETIES INCLUDING HOPEFULLY SOME AFRICANS TO SERVE AS ADVISERS IN NRC RELIEF ACTION.
RIMESTAD

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Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LIBREV 01235 280942Z

21
ACTION EA-15

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 SS-20 INR-07 RSR-01 RSC-01 7057 W
079716

R 280705Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO AMEMBASSY SEOUL
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
SECSTATE WASHDC 2978

UNCLAS LIBREVILLE 1235

SUBJECT: KOREAN MEDICAL TEAM

1. SOUTH KOREAN 3RD SECRETARY LE (ABIDJAN), ACCOMPANYING AND ASSISTING NEWLY-ARRIVED KOREAN MEDICAL TEAM OF TWO DOCTORS, ASKS THAT FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE PASSED ROKG FONMIN (ABIDJAN PLEASE INFORM ROK EMBASSY):

2. QTE ARRIVED LIBREVILLE 22 NOVEMBER AND ON 24TH MET GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CONCERNED INCLUDING MINISTER OF HEALTH.

3. CONCERNING THE ASSIGNMENT, MINISTRY OF HEALTH PROPOSED MOUILA HOSPITAL (120 BEDS) LOCATED 500 KM TO SOUTH OF LIBREVILLE THAT IS ONE HOUR AWAY BY AIRPLANE AVAILABLE TWICE A WEEK. MOUILA (6,000 INHABITANTS) IS THIRD LARGEST CITY IN GABON AND WE ARE TOLD THERE ARE MINIMUM MODERN FACILITIES SUCH AS ELECTRICITY AND WATER SUPPLY. ONE FRENCH DOCTOR IS SERVING NOW IN MOUILA HOSPITAL. DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH SAID THAT IN FACT DUE TO EXPREME DIFFICULTIES IN OBTAINING HOUSING IN LIBREVILLE, GABONESE GOVERNMENT MADE IT A RULE FOR ALL NEWLY ARRIVING DOCTORS TO BE POSTED IN INTERIOR. KOREAN DOCTORS WILL PROCEED TO MOUILA AFTER 2 - 3 DAYS IN LIBREVILLE.

① 4. I SAID IN ANY CASE I SHOULD ASK INSTRUCTION OF HOME GOVERNMENT ON THIS MATTER SINCE OUR MEDICAL AGREEMENT ENVISAGES KOREAN GOVERNMENT CONSENT TO THE FINAL ASSIGNMENT OF OUR DOCTORS. BESIDES, I ASKED MINISTER OF HEALTH OF POSSIBILITY ASSIGNING OUR DOCTORS TO PORT-GENTIL, IF NOT TO LIBREVILLE, FOR INITIAL PERIOD, AT LEAST SIX MONTHS, WHICH SEEMS NECESSARY NOT ONLY FOR THEIR ADAPTATION TO CLIMATE BUT FOR THEIR ORENTATION IN TROPICAL

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*Libreville 1235
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Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01235 280942Z

MEDICINE.

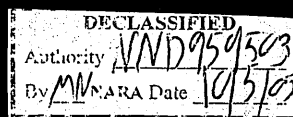
5. MINISTER OF HEALTH, AGREEING IN PRINCIPLE TO MY ARGUMENT, SAID IT DEPENDS ON WHETHER IT POSSIBLE FIND HOUSING IN PORT-GENTIL. IF I SUCCEED IN HAVING DOCTORS ASSIGNED TO PORT-GENTIL, THIS IS MOST I CAN DO FOR NOW.

6. AWAITING IMMEDIATE INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS MATTER. JOUNG SOO LEE UNQTE.

7. FYI. ONE OF DOCTORS IS SURGEON, OTHER IS GP. BOTH BROUGHT WIVES AND TOTAL FIVE CHILDREN. GABONESE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS IT UNABLE PROVIDE HOTEL ACCOMODATIONS FOR GROUP AND MUST MOVE THEM OUT OF BORROWED HOUSE BY WEEKEND. KOREANS LESS THAN DELIGHTED. END FYI. FUNKHOUSER.

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Lagos A- 530

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The general ban on the operation of light aircraft, which was imposed on May 27 following a series of air raids on Port Harcourt, Benin and Ughelli led by Count Von Rosen, continues in force. The ban was placed because of the difficulty of distinguishing friendly from enemy light aircraft. However, in practice, light aircraft operations have been permitted to continue in northern Nigeria, and occasional flights between Lagos and Kainji Dam on behalf of the Niger Dams Authority have been permitted on an individual basis. Helicopter services from Escravos and Forcados in the Midwest State in support of offshore petroleum operations have also been permitted to continue. The ban's most significant effect was to stop regularly scheduled light aircraft services to Warri, the Midwest petroleum center, which now must be reached by a day's road or boat trip from Lagos.

Although Nigeria Airways quickly resumed service to Port Harcourt and Calabar, there has been no decision to resume flights to Benin, capital of the Midwest State. Flights to Benin were suspended on October 11 as a result of another Biafran attack on Benin airport on that day. The Biafran raid was timed to hit the aircraft just after it was scheduled to land. Fortunately, the Nigeria Airways Fokker Friendship was fifteen minutes late and diverted back to Lagos in time. Air service to Benin is not as vital as service to Calabar and Port Harcourt, since Benin can be reached from Lagos by road in a matter of five hours.

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
th Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

31

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Classification

199172

27 Nov 69 17 20Z

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Origin ACTION: AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE Priority

Info: Amembassy London Priority
" Lagos "
US Mission Geneva "

STATE

Ref. The Hague 4556

Subject: Nigeria/Biafra Christmas Truce

1. Ferguson not yet returned. In absence more detailed background we unable comment in specific terms. In any event urgency USG views not clear in connection proposed demarche.
2. Appears to us some difficult questions unanswered, e.g. how police truce. However, in principle USG would view with sympathy any efforts by Hague Group aimed at improving climate for settlement or helping on relief problem. We assume there is no wish associate USG in proposal and believe preferable USG not directly involved.

Drafted by:

AF/SN W.H. Brubeck

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

W.H. Brubeck

Clearances:

AF: Amb. Moore (subst.)

U/CF: Col. Dewey (subst.)

~~Confidential~~
Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority VMD 9503
By MWA Date 10/3/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Origin
Info

ACTION: Page Two Telegram to the Hague

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3. If project goes forward believe highly desirable HIM be brought in at early date and every effort be made gain his cooperation. We agree best format would be Hague Group action via Emperor. At minimum, evidence of Hague Group concern and precedent of Hague Group working with HIM could be useful.

4. We prepared make further comment after Ferguson return if asked. If we are to do so, would appreciate fuller account Dutch thinking on how project would work.

[ROGERS]

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Clearances:		

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority VMD 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

CONFIDENTIAL 554

PAGE 01 THE HA 04556 271300Z

5
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 UPW-01 SCS-04

SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 ACDA-18 RSR-01 /160 W
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O P 271240Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4804
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

CONFIDENTIAL THE HAGUE 4556

FOR UYCF -- AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF -- POSSIBLE CHRISTMAS TRUCE

REF: HAGUE 4542 (NOTAL)

1. SHARP RENEWAL DURING PAST FEW WEEKS OF DOMESTIC PRESSURES ON IGON TO TAKE NEW INITIATIVES ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA HAS LED MFA TO TAKE CLOSER LOOK AT POSSIBLE APPEAL FOR RELIEF-ORIENTED CHRISTMAS TRUCE BASED ON FAVORABLE REACTION FROM SCANDINAVIANS. MFA NOW INTENDS MAKE DEMARCHES IN ALL HAGUE GROUP CAPITALS PLUS PARIS AND LONDON TOMORROW (NOV 28) WITH VIEW TO LAUNCHING APPEAL NEXT WEEK.

2. MFA'S HUYDECOPER DISCUSSED QUESTION WITH FERGUSON AT GENEVA HAGUE GROUP MEETING AND UNDERSTOOD FERGUSON WOULD PROVIDE U.S. VIEWS BY END LAST WEEK. HUYDECOPER TOLD EMBASSY TODAY HE FEELS HE CAN NOT HOLD UP DEMARCHES WAITING FOR U.S. REACTION BEYOND TOMORROW.

3. WOULD APPRECIATE URGENT RESPONSE REFTEL INCLUDING OPINIONS ON FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

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Department of State

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- (A) INCLUSION OF BRITISH AND FRENCH WITH HAGUE GROUP IN APPEAL
- (B) HOW BEST TO LAUNCH APPEAL (E.G. HAGUE GROUP VIA EMPEROR)
- (C) LENGTH OF TRUCE (HUYDECOPER SUGGESTS DEC 21-28)
- (D) LOGISTICS OF RELIEF OPERATION DURING TRUCE (E.G., 24-HOUR RELIEF OPERATION, LIMITATION TO SMALL NUMBER SPECIFIED ITEMS, PLANES TO BE USED -- JCA OR JCA PLUS OTHERS NOT NOW AVAILABLE) • BOVEY

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Authority VND959503
By MWA/ARA Date 10/5/05

1969 NOV 28 PM 7 44

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/02

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Tuesday, November 25, 1969

The House met at 2 p.m.

[Translation]

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

STATEMENT ON SHIPMENT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA

Right Hon. P. E. Trudeau (Prime Minister):
Mr. Speaker, in the past few days several questions have been asked of me in the House of Commons with respect to steps taken by the government of Canada to assist in the shipment of relief supplies to the civilian populations of the secessionist areas of Nigeria. Because it is desirable to set forth in a single statement the several aspects of Canadian efforts in this regard, the following brief chronological record has been prepared:

1. In October 1968, Canadian Forces Hercules aircraft were despatched to the Nigerian area for use in carrying relief cargoes to Biafra. One of those aircraft joined the night airlift, the hazards and inefficiencies of which were then and have always been recognized.

2. In late October 1968, my personal representative, Professor Ivan Head, journeyed to Lagos for discussions with the Nigerian head of state, General Gowon, about the possibilities of additional relief shipments. It was as a result of that Canadian initiative that the Nigerians agreed to permit daylight relief flights subject to only a single condition, an undertaking by Colonel Ojukwu that he would not take advantage of the situation and fly in arms during daylight hours.

[English]

3. The proposal for daylight flights on these terms was transmitted through the International Committee of the Red Cross and other channels to Colonel Ojukwu. When in November no reply had been received from Colonel Ojukwu, and the Nigerian government announced that it could no longer guarantee the safety of aircraft flying into Biafra at night, the Canadian government withdrew its aircraft. Canada stated at that time that it

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would consider replacing the aircraft once appropriate daylight delivery arrangements were concluded.

4. Not until June, 1969, some eight months following the announcement of the daylight relief flight proposal, did the Biafran authorities comment officially upon it. Not even then did Biafra accept the idea of daylight relief. It only said that, subject to five conditions, it would be "willing to consider" daylight flights.

5. Since early 1969, and with the knowledge of the Nigerian government, contacts have been made and discussions about relief and other measures subsequently held by Canada with representatives of the Biafran regime. The Secretary of State for External Affairs has spoken with Biafran authorities in New York; various Canadian officials have met with Biafran representatives in London, Ottawa, Geneva and New York, and are continuing to do so in one or more of these places whenever it appears appropriate to do so. It is in this light Mr. Speaker, that my statement of last week must be viewed when I said there had been contact at the ministerial level. This contact was made at New York; of course there have been other contacts at the official level in the various capitals, as I have just said.

6. In an effort to overcome the delivery difficulties the Canadian government has consulted continuously with a number of other donor governments which make up what is known as the Hague Group. It has consulted as well with the United States government. That government, early this year, took the recognized lead in Nigerian relief activities when President Nixon appointed Ambassador Clyde Ferguson as his official representative to co-ordinate humanitarian assistance to Nigeria.

• (2:10 p.m.)

7. In June of this year I sent my representative back to Nigeria to ensure that General Gowon's single condition for daylight flights remained unchanged. Professor Head then journeyed to Tanzania on my behalf to speak to President Nyerere, the leader of an African country which had recognized the independence of Biafra, about all aspects of the Nigerian situation.

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COMMONS DEBATES

November 25, 1969

8. On July 10, in an attempt to meet Biafran contentions that daylight flights would prejudice its military position, the Secretary of State for External Affairs offered to send Canadians to the area to act as inspectors of relief cargos.

9. In the early summer the International Committee of the Red Cross began negotiations in Geneva in an attempt to solve the flight impasse which by then had reached a critical point as the Nigerian Air Force increased its efforts to prevent night flights of arms from reaching Uli. After one of its aircraft was shot down, the ICRC halted its night flights.

10. A Red Cross proposal for daylight flights—I repeat, Mr. Speaker, this whole business of daylight flights was begun as a result of Canadian initiative—the whole idea was brought up as result of Canadian initiative which followed upon our obtaining from General Gowon his consent to such flights.

Mr. Bell: Wonderful fellows!

Some hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Trudeau: Apparently the opposition does not believe in daylight flights.

Mr. Stanfield: Yes.

Mr. Bell: We do not believe you.

Mr. Woolliams: You are reading it very well. A little on the quiet side.

Mr. Diefenbaker: We do not believe in alibis for inhumanity.

An hon. Member: Smile on.

Mr. Trudeau: Still thinking of those Christians over there, Mr. Diefenbaker?

An hon. Member: You do not even know anything about Parliament.

Mr. Speaker: May I take the liberty of reminding the right hon. Prime Minister that members are to be referred to by constituency and not by name.

An hon. Member: He doesn't know.

Mr. Trudeau: 10. A Red Cross proposal for daylight flights was given to both Nigerian and Biafran representatives in Geneva on August 1. Biafra accepted the proposal in principle on August 14 but made its acceptance subject to the condition that it would continue to use Uli airport for its own operations. The Biafrans offered no evidence that

[Mr. Trudeau.]

they were prepared to meet the single Nigerian request that arms not be flown in during daylight hours. The paper setting out "technical modalities" of daylight flights, drawn up by Professor Freymond of the ICRC and Dr. Cooke of Biafra, and circulated by the Biafran authorities, must be read in light of this Biafran condition.

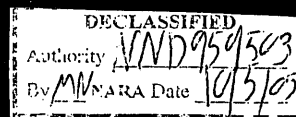
11. In late summer the ICRC sent a team of representatives to Nigeria in an attempt to conclude a daylight relief agreement with both sides, no agreement having been reached with either side up to this point. On September 13 the federal Nigerian government and the ICRC reached an agreement for an internationally-inspected and militarily-inviolable daylight relief airlift. The agreement included, at Nigerian insistence and reply to the Biafran condition for what amounted to daylight military use of Uli airport, a clause that the agreement should be without prejudice to military operations by the Nigerian government.

12. The Biafran regime refused to conclude an agreement with the Red Cross. Biafra, instead, demanded in a press statement dated September 15 "a third party guarantee which will ensure that daylight flights are not used to military advantage by Nigeria." The statement continued to say that "the only guarantee acceptable to Biafra is that of a third government or international organization of a political character."

13. The governments of Canada and the United States immediately attempted to provide assurances to meet this understandable Biafran fear of military disadvantage. Discussions toward this end took place in Ottawa and in Washington and involved officials of the Prime Minister's office and the Department of External Affairs and officials of the White House and the Department of State. Included in these discussions as one element of these assurances was a proposal for Canadian observers to travel on board relief aircraft.

14. Canadian officials subsequently met with Biafran representatives in Geneva. Ambassador Ferguson, who had been agreed upon as the person who should convey formally these offers, travelled to Africa. As set forth in the Washington statement, dated November 12, 1969, the Biafran authorities on October 24 formally rejected the offers which were designed to protect Biafra from military disadvantage, which is exactly what they had asked for.

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Encl.
Ottawa A-873

November 25, 1969

COMMONS

15. Canadian officials in Geneva have been informed by Biafran representatives that Biafra demands more than military assurances; that, in addition, guarantees of a political nature are required in order to break the impasse. The Canadian government is not willing to give the political guarantees demanded as these would be tantamount to recognition of an independent state of Biafra, and an overt interference by Canada into the political affairs of another country, contrary to the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity.

16. During the past several weeks, the Secretary of State for External Affairs has continued his discussions about Nigeria with some 25 other foreign ministers, many of them from African nations, at the United Nations. I talked to Secretary General U Thant about the problem in New York on November 11 as I had a year earlier. Canadian leaders have pursued the Nigerian issue with the leaders of two African countries who have visited Ottawa this fall. They were President Hamani Diori of Niger and President Nyerere of Tanzania. I can say that the unanimous view of these African leaders is that the Organization of African Unity resolutions must be respected.

17. The government is now considering, as stated a few days ago, alternative means of delivering relief to Biafra in daylight. It does so while agreeing entirely with the recent statement of United States Secretary of State Rogers: "Daylight flights under agreed procedures...remain the only practicable scheme for an immediate and substantial expansion of relief operations."

18. The government's concern remains, Mr. Speaker, as it has throughout, and as does that of hon. members opposite and indeed all Canadians, with the innocent civilian victims of this tragic war. Delivering adequate food and relief supplies to these people must be our resolve, notwithstanding the disinclination of the Ojukwu regime to accept it, except in return for political advantage.

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA
NIGERIA 198480

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

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26 Nov 69 21 31Z
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Origin
Info:

ACTION: USMISSION GENEVA

STATE

REF: Geneva ~~4214 (LIMBIS) 4231~~ 4231, STATE 197799

Department repeating reftels to Reykjavik. Please include
Reykjavik as info addressee on future similar messages.

End

087861

[ROGERS]

Drafted by: PSS EUR/SCAN:PEStoring:mbw 11/26/69 Tel. Ext. 21563
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: PSS EUR/SCAN - George Mason Ingram

Clearances:

U/CF - Miss Shishkin PSS
AID/AFR/CWA - Mr. North

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03

AID-28 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01

/160 W

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R 261540Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO USMISEWON GENEVA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 149
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10278

SUBJECT: NIGERIA RELIEF DABNEY MISSION

REF DAKAR 341 *nc*

APPRECIATE GENEVA'S CLARIFICATION PURPOSE DABNEY LICROSS
MISSION AS SUGGESTED IN REFTEL. WE PRESUME IDEA IS FOR
AFRICAN RED CROSS SOCIETIES TO APPEAL TO FMG TO ISSUE
NIGERIAN RED CROSS A CLEAR MANDATE TO PERFORM OPERATIONAL
RELIEF ROLE FORMERLY UNDERAKEN BY ICRC. ALSO APPRECIATE ANY
INFORMATION ON OUTCOME DABNEY MISSION.
TRUEHEART
GP-3.

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Authority *VND 950/503*
By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 498

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04255 261858Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 L-03
H-02 P-03 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 AID-28
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11-26-69

P R 261830Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3835
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4255

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: LAGOS 10278

1. BEER JOINED DAVIDSON'S MEETING WITH DABNEY WHERE THE TWO LICROSS OFFICIALS STATED THAT THEIR MEETINGS WITH SCANDINAVIAN RC SOCIETIES REVEALED THAT THE NORDICS WERE CRITICAL OF THE ICECROSS PLAN TO SUPPORT ICRC FEEDING TEAMS IN BIAFRA. THE SCANDINAVIANS CALLED THE ICRC REQUEST UNETHICAL; ICRC IS REQUESTING NATIONAL RC SOCIETIES TO TAKE AN ACTION WHICH IT IS UNWILLING TO DO. BEER STATED THAT ICECROSS IS A VERY SMALL SOCIETY WHICH WOULD BE UNABLE TO TAKE ON RIGOROUS DIPLOMATIC REQUIREMENTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND SPONSORSHIP OF AN AIRLIFT. HE NOTED THAT ICECROSS REQUESTED FINANCIAL, MORAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT FROM ICRC, LICROSS AND OTHER NORDIC SOCIETIES; LICROSS AND SCANDINAVIANS ARE UNABLE TO MEET THIS REQUEST.

2. BEER AND DABNEY VIEW AFRICAN RC SOCIETIES, GOVERNMENTS AND CHURCHES WORKING IN CONCERT WITH BOTH NIGERIA AND BIAFRA AS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE IDEA. THEY REFERRED TO DABNEY'S TRIP TO DAKAR AND MEETING WITH ALCANTARA, PRESIDENT SENEGALESE GOVERNMENT AND VP RED CROSS. ALCANTARA SUPPOSEDLY PRESENTLY PREPARING MEETING OF AFRICAN RC SOCIETIES TO DISCUSS NIGERIA/BIAFRA.

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04255 261858Z

3. BEER STATED THAT LICROSS CAN WORK ONLY WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF AGREEMENT FROM BOTH SIDES. LICROSS THEREFORE WOULD BE ABLE TO ASSIST IF STATUS NRC FURTHER CLARIFIED BY FMG. BEER AND DABNEY FEEL THAT RECENT REHAB COMMISSION MEETING DID NOT ASSURE NECESSARY AUTONOMY FOR NRC.

4. ACTIVITIES IN BIAFRA STATED BEER ARE RESPONSIBILITY OF ICRC AND HE HAS NO NEW IDEAS OF PLANS TO ASSEST THE COMMITTEE.

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

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NIGERIA

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USIA	NSA	CIA	
10	3	16	
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Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

UNCLASSIFIED

A-311

HANDLING INDICATOR

NO.

TO : Department of State

INFO : LAGOS, LIBREVILLE

FROM : Amembassy ABIDJAN

DATE: November 26, 1969

SUBJECT : Biafran Children Refugees

REF : State 68828; Abidjan 2330

With only two plane-loads of Biafran children brought in since May, the head-count of refugees at the three shelters of Cocody, Bouaké, and Grand Bassam stands at about 300 each. The Yamoussokro shelter has not yet been opened.

Enclosed is an article from West Africa on the Bouaké shelter.

MILLER

Enclosure:
As stated

POST ROUTING

TO:	Action	Info.	Initials
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Action Taken:

Date:

Initials:

FORM DS-323
10-64

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Drafted by:
POL:HC MacDougall:cs

Drafting Date:
11/25/69

Phone No.:

Contents and Classification Approved by:
CHARGE: W. F. Miller

Clearances:

CONS: L. Cohen

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Authority: VMD 954503
By: M. NARA Date: 10/5/05

Abidjan A- 311

Encl. 1

Page 1 of 2

WEST AFRICA

November 15, 1969

Ivory Coast Refuge

Bouaké,

ONE hears so much about the suffering children of Biafra, one sees all the photographs of the tiny living skeletons, that one forgets to wonder—what has happened to those of them who were saved and who were taken out of the war-zone? Part of the answer is to be found in the Ivory Coast, where almost 1,000 Biafran children are now living in three camps (at Bouaké, Cocody, and Grand Bassam). It is a story of great humanitarian work on the part of Ivorians and individual foreign volunteers—and of shameful negligence on the part of Biafran authorities.

The first camp, at Bouaké, the second largest town in the Ivory Coast opened in November last year. This camp is not a new installation built especially to accommodate the children; rather it is the site of the "Centre Civique Feminin", a camp into which young women from the interior have been brought to train in the elementaries of hygienic house-keeping and reading and writing. This was a pet-project of President Houphouët-Boigny which he had embarked on as early as 1963, under the dynamic guidance of an Israeli woman, Colonel Dina Werth, the first Chief-of-Staff of the Israeli Women's Army.

When the first shipments of 200 child-



ren arrived in the Ivory Coast from Libreville (some also arrived directly from Biafra), the Ivorian women-commanders of the camp were asked to stay on "temporarily" and work as nurses. They are still on the job one year later.

In the course of the year, more children arrived, and were put in camps more suitable to the particular needs of their condition. One was constructed in Abidjan itself, in the suburb Cocody. It was built under the supervision of Princess Cecilia of Bourbon-Parma. The second camp is in Grand Bassam, some 40

kms. out of the Capital. It is a

A midday meal is served to the children. The flights were carried out by planes of the Order of Malta (financed mainly from France and Spain); medicines and doctors were provided mostly from the USA, through MERCY, run by the journalist Burton. Among the foreigners there were a considerable number of Irish priests. Yet the bulk of the burden—expenses involving the construction of the camps and feeding of children (500 CFA per day) and staff—was carried by the Ivory Coast, via its own Red Cross.

It was a Biafran condition that the children be kept in camps, not given away for temporary or permanent adoption. They also demanded that the children would not be sent to local schools—as the Ivory Coast is a French-speaking country and as the curriculum at its schools is different. Again and again the Biafrans emphasised their wish that their children grow as Biafrans—not Ivoiriens.

Only 18, out of more than 800 children, died in the course of the first year, a surprisingly low number, considering their desperate condition upon arrival. This success can only be attributed to the devotion of all those who participated in this humanitarian undertaking. Now, however, that the children appear to be better fed than most African children on this undernourished continent, new problems arise.

As the war drags on, the main question is what should be done with those children. Their mental condition requires as much attention as their physical one. Should they be taken back to their families in the secessionist Biafra? Should they remain in the camps, doing little more than playing children's games and taking few lessons at the hands of the understaffed Biafran teams (there are four teachers for 300 children aged between 3 and 16)?

Until now, very little was done by the Biafran authorities towards solving these problems. When meeting with their representative in the Ivory Coast (the head of the mission is Dr. Eke, but he is rarely in the country; in his absence, Mr. Chigbu is in charge), one got the impression that

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

the issues were considered as "political" rather than educational ones.

Thus, the small, devoted and over-worked team of Biafran women, are left to do their best—with requests for additional staff as yet unanswered. And it was made clear by the staff that it is not the war-effort which makes it impossible to bring in reinforcement.

Several possibilities are open to the Biafrans: (a) to bring the reinforcement from Biafra itself. We were told that there is now a decision to let out not only single women, but also mothers with their young children. The team at Bouaké, headed by Mrs. Memberris, came there in late 1968. They are still waiting for the promised additional staff and do not know why the promises were not fulfilled.

(b) to recruit among the "refugees" already in the Ivory Coast. There are several hundreds of them; some are employed in the country, others live on Ivory Coast subsidy. Many are not refugees in the ordinary sense as they have been living abroad long before the civil war started.

(c) to make use of some of the thousands of Biafran students training in countries all over Africa and the world. It is highly disturbing, for example, to learn that 21 Biafran students who studied at Lovanium University in the Congo, and who were transferred with great difficulties to the Ivory Coast following the June 4 students massacre in Kinshasa—have now all returned to the Congo to continue their studies. None of these found his way to the camp to contribute towards the "national education" of his younger kins. It would seem only reasonable to "enlist" some of those students—train them in teaching in an intensive course—and send them to the camps.

(d) to accept the generous offer by English-speaking foreigners (mostly British and American) to teach in the camps on a voluntary basis. This might mean admittance by the Biafrans that, despite their condemnation of British or American policy, they must fall back on volunteers from those countries.

In the meantime—needs are dictating a *de facto* situation: a fortnight ago, the first group of ten older boys (aged 14-16) was sent to a Catholic monastery near Bouaké, where the priests (of the Contemplative Order) have agreed to teach them, in French, without imposing any religious doctrine.

President Félix Houphouët-Boigny has undertaken the conversion of a *gendarmerie* camp (used to house the guard of the now eliminated prison for political detainees) in his home town Yamoussoukro. It is the largest of all camps—made to absorb 600 children and provide them with the most favourable conditions. One only wonders if the Biafrans are trying to do for their children as much as others are doing for them.

Tamar K. Golan

0304



Department of State

Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

KR Def 12-5 Biafra

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 866

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12:
ACTION: AF-05

INFO: OCT-01 SS-20 NSC-10 NSCE-00 UCF-01 SR-01 PM-03 INR-06

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R: 260755Z NOV /0
FM: AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 2977
INFO: USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1234

LIMDIS:

DEPT PLS PASS AS DESIRED

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

REF: SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS: SINCE NOVEMBER 17:

DC-4 F-BB
R NIGHTLY NOVEMBER 17 THROUGH 20 AND NOVEMBER 23
(5 FLIGHTS).

2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS: SINCE NOVEMBER 17:

A. DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHTS: NOVEMBER 18 AND 19 (2 FLIGHTS)

B. CONSTELLATION F-BRAD NIGHTS: NOVEMBER 19 THROUGH 21
(3 FLIGHTS)

C. DC-6 OO-GER NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 17 THROUGH 23 (7 FLIGHTS)

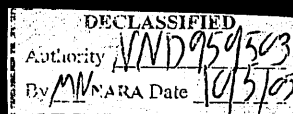
(2) D. DC-6 OO-HEX NIGHT NOVEMBER 17 AND NIGHTLY NOVEMBER 19
THROUGH 23 (6 FLIGHTS).

3. REMARKS:

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*Libreville 1234
11/26/69*

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A. RELIEF CARRIER F-BRPI (DC-4), WHICH RETURNED LIBREVILLE NOVEMBER 18 AFTER ONE-WEEK ABSENCE AND RESUMED AIRLIFT RUNS SAME DAY, DAMAGED ON ULI RUNWAY NIGHT OF DECEMBER 20 BY INTRUDER BOMB WHICH EXPLODED NEARBY WHILE AIRCRAFT BEING UNLOADED (LIBREVILLE 1220). DAMAGE MINOR, MAINLY TAIL SECTION AND PERHAPS ONE ENGINE, AND PLANE MANAGED RETURN LIBREVILLE FOR REPAIRS. BY NOVEMBER 24, RUDDER AND AT LEAST ONE ENGINE HAD BEEN REPLACED.

B. PRESUMABLY BECAUSE OF F-BRPI'S DIFFICULTIES, OPERATION AFRICA CONCERN AIRCRAFT (DC-6'S OO-HEX AND OO-GER) BOTH RECEIVED COATS OF DULL GRAY PAINT ON UPPER SIDES THEIR PREVIOUSLY WHITE FUSELAGES DURING PAST WEEKEND.

C. DC-4 F-BRHE UNDER CHARTER TO FRC, DEPARTED LIBREVILLE NOVEMBER 17 AND HAS NOT RETURNED. A SECOND FRC CHARTER, SUPER-G CONSTELLATION F-BRAD, ALSO DEPARTED NOVEMBER 22 WITHOUT RETURNING TO DATE. PRESUME ABSENCE THESE AIRCRAFT REFLECTS RELIEF CARGO SHORTAGES PREVIOUSLY REPORTED. WITH THIRD FRC AIRCRAFT NOW DOWN FOR REPAIRS, FRENCH RC OPERATIONS CURRENTLY HALTED ALTOGETHER.

D. DC-6 TR-LOX, TOP OF ITS FUSELAGE NOW PAINTED DULL GRAY, MOVED DURING WEEK FROM CIVILIAN TO MILITARY AREA OF AIRPORT, THEN MOVED BACK TO CIVILIAN AREA AFTER FOUR DAYS. APPARENTLY STILL HAS NOT FLOWN ON BIAFRAN RUN.

E. THREE MFI-9B "MINICONS" (LIBREVILLE 1211, PARA 3D5) STILL OBSERVED DURING MOST OF THE WEEK IN AND ABOUT MILITARY AREA. NUMBERS DIMINISH ON OCCASION THEN RETURN TO TOTAL TMSZ, PRESUMABLY TRAINING FLIGHTS FROM EQUATEUR AIRSTRIP. (SEE SEPTEL)

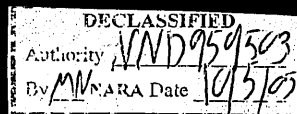
F. STRANGERS IN TOWN DURING WEEK:

1. DC-7 TR-LNZ SHOWED UP MORNING OF NOVEMBER 19 AND PARKED IN MILITARY AREA, THEN DEPARTED EARLY EVENING. NO LOADING/ UNLOADING OBSERVED.

2. SUPER-G CONSTELLATION REG. NO. 5NBGH (NIGERIAN REGISTRY?) PAINTED WHITE WITH TWO NARROW RED STRIPES LENGTH OF FUSELAGE, ARRIVED DURING NIGHT NOVEMBER 20 AND PARKED IN MILITARY

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AREA, DEPARTED FOLLOWING DAY, THEN APPEARED AGAIN EVENING NOVEMBER 23 IN MILITARY AREA. POSSIBLY FLEW BIAFRA RUN NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 23, AS IT WAS OBSERVED UNLOADING BAGS OF UNIDENTIFIED CARGO IN CIVILIAN AREA MORNING NOVEMBER 24. EMBASSY HAS NO RPT NO RECORD THIS AIRCRAFT RECENTLY ACTIVE HERE.

3. DC-6 64PK BEARING FRENCH MILITARY MARKINGS PARKED IN MILITARY AREA EARLY MORNING NOVEMBER 23, DEPARTED SAME DAY.

4. ICRC EXECUTIVE AIRCRAFT BH-GBK ARRIVED NOVEMBER 19, DEPARTED NOVEMBER 20.

4. RESUME:

A. WEEK OF NOVEMBER 3: 5 ARMS FLIGHTS, 21 RELIEF FLIGHTS.

B. WEEK OF NOVEMBER 10: 2 ARMS FLIGHTS, 16 RELIEF FLIGHTS.

C. WEEK OF NOVEMBER 17: 5 ARMS FLIGHTS, 18 RELIEF FLIGHTS.

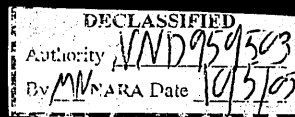
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NOTE: # AS RECEIVED, WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 583

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01231 271214Z

16
ACTION: AF-05

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-12 UCF-01 SS-20 NSC-10 NSCE-00 PM-03 SR-01

INR-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /061 W
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R 250750Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2974
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1231

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN ARMS LIFT FROM LIBREVILLE

REF: LIBREVILLE 1211

1. ALTHOUGH DIFFICULT TO SUBSTANTIATE, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT FRENCH SUPPORT ARMS LIFT INTO BIAFRA MAY BE IN PHASE-OUT PROCESS. OUR HUNCH HANGS TENUOUSLY FROM FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS:

A. CURRENT LEVEL OF PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS FROM LIBREVILLE GREATLY REDUCED FROM SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER AVERAGES.

B. STOCKS OF CARGOS AWAITING TRANSPORT INTO ENCLAVE, WHICH PREVIOUSLY VISIBLE IN STACKS AROUND MILITARY AREA AND IN SHEDS THERE, NOW DWINDLED TO ZERO.

C. ONE OF SHEDS IN MILITARY AREA IN WHICH ARMS LIFT STOCKS AND SUPPLIES BELIEVED STORED NOW IN PROCESS BEING DISMANTLED.

D. MOST OF CARGO OBSERVED BEING LOADED ON THOSE FEW PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS STILL OPERATING APPEARS CONSIST MAINLY OF POL AND

E. DC-6 TR-LOX, WHICH LOOKED FOR SURE LIKE NEW JACK MALLOCH

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*Libreville 1231
11-25-69*

Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01231 271214Z

PLANE BEING PREPARED FOR ARMS RUNS WHEN IT FIRST ARRIVED HERE FIRST OF NOVEMBER, NOW HALF-REPAINTED, UNUTILIZED, AND ALL BUT ABANDONED ON APRON.

2. ONE OBVIOUS COUNTER TO OUR HUNCH IS THAT FRENCH DOCK STRIKE HAS INTERRUPTED PIPELINE, SLOWING ARMS LIFT AS WELL AS RELIEF. IN PAST, HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD IMPRESSION LARGE PORTION OF ARMS CARGO BROUGHT INTO LIBREVILLE BY AIR, MOST LIKELY ABOARD MALLOCH FLEET. THIS TRAFFIC TOO SEEMS NOW TO HAVE DIMINISHED TO ALMOST NOTHING.

3. WHILE WE ARE UNWILLING GO VERY FAR OUT ON THIS LIMB AT PRESENT, BELIEVE IT WORTH KEEPING IN BACKS OF OUR MINDS THAT FRENCH MAY START LIVING UP TO DECLARATION THAT THEY HAVE IMPOSED ARMS EMBARGO ON BOTH SIDES NIGERIAN CONFLICT. REPORT CONTAINED GENEVA 4187 CLEARLY SHOWS THAT ELYSEE, WITH CHARACTERISTIC PRAGMATISM, IS KEEPING CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION AND EVEN NEGOTIATION OPEN WITH LAGOS DESPITE ITS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR BIAFRAN CAUSE. REALIZING THAT THEY ARE PUTTING OUT GOOD MONEY ON HORSE RACE WHICH BOGGING DOWN, FRENCH COULD BE IN PROCESS HEDGING THAT BET. CERTAINLY FRENCH AMBASSADOR DELAUNEY AND COL. MERLE SPEAK REALISTICALLY AND OBJECTIVELY. WE THINK, ABOUT WHOLE AGONIZING AFFAIR AND FRUSTRATIONS OF DEALING WITH BIAFRANS.
RUNKHOUSER

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05

POL 27-9 BIAFRANIGERIA



Department of State

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UCF-05
IO-13 RSR-01 SR-01 ORM-03 E-15 DOT-12 AID-28 /181 W
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R 252329Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5550
INFO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OTTAWA 1839

SUBJ: BIAFRAN RELIEF

1. DURING NOV 25 HOUSE QUESTION PERIOD PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU READ STATEMENT CHRONICLING GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS EXPEDITE FLOW OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA. HE REFERRED TO USG AND GOC EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ASSURANCES TO MEET BIAFRAN MILITARY FEARS AND EXPLAINED THAT BIAFRA NOW DEMANDS "GUARANTEES OF A POLITICAL NATURE... WHICH THE GOC IS NOT WILLING TO GIVE... AS THESE WOULD BE AN OVERT INTERFERENCE BY CANADA INTO THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, CONTRARY TO THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY". PRIME MINISTER CONCLUDED BY STATING GOC CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF DELIVERING RELIEF TO BIAFRA IN DAYLIGHT. "IT DOES SO WHILE AGREEING ENTIRELY WITH THE RECENT STATEMENT OF US SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS: "DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS UNDER AGREED PROCEDURES... REMAIN THE ONLY PRACTICABLE SCHEME FOR AN IMMEDIATE AND SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF RELIEF OPERATIONS".

2. TEXT BEING POUCHED.

3. HOUSE LEADERS HAVE AGREED NOV 27 WILL BE DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO DISCUSSION OF BIAFRAN SITUATION.
SCHMIDT

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11-25-69*

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeris
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 605

PAGE 01 COPENH 04512 251432Z

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ACTION: UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
IO-13 UPW-01 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01
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PIR 251325Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2977
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 4512

SUBJ: FERGUSON MTG WITH PASTOR MOLLERUP

1. SUMMARY. PASTOR MOLLERUP, GEN SEC, NORCHURCHAD, AND COL WICHMANN, FORMER CHIEF OF FLIGHT OPERATIONS, SAO TOME, SPENT HOUR WITH FERGUSON MONDAY IN COPENHAGEN. MOLLERUP REPORTED NORCHURCHAD IN 18 MONTHS CONTRIBUTED EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS IN CASH AND SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS IN KIND TO AIRLIFT. ORGANIZATION PLANS SPEND 650,000 TO 700,000 DOLLARS A MONTH IN ENCLAVE, AND COUNTING MEDICAL PROGRAM IN RIVERS STATE TOTAL COULD REACH 750,000 DOLLARS. END SUMMARY.

2. MOLLERUP SAID C-97'S DOING BEST JOB IN AIRLIFT. WICHMANN OBSERVED THAT DESPITE SLOW START THIS MONTH DUE TO SWITCH FROM FLIGHT TEST RESEARCH TO BALAIR, NOVEMBER IS SHAPING UP AS BEST MONTH EVER IN TONNAGE. AIRLIFT NOW AVERAGING 226 METRIC TONS NIGHTLY WITH 18 LANDINGS. IMMEDIATE GOAL IS 20 LANDINGS WITH 245 TO 260 METRIC TONS NIGHTLY.

3. SEVEN DC-6'S ON SAO TOME, FIVE C-97'S AND FOUR SUPER CONSTELLATIONS. ONE SUPER CONSTELLATION SOON GOING TO EUROPE FOR INSPECTION AND OVERHAUL.

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4. IN AIMING FOR 20 LANDINGS, BREAKDOWN WOULD BE THIS: FIVE DC-6'S WOULD MAKE TWO LANDINGS EACH; FOUR C-97'S WOULD MAKE TOTAL OF SIX LANDINGS, AND THREE SUPER CONSTELLATIONS WOULD ACCOUNT FOR FOUR LANDINGS. "WE WILL CUT DOWN ON DC-6 FLIGHTS IF WE SUDDENLY BLESSED WITH BIGGER AND BETTER AIRCRAFT," MOLLERUP SAID.

5. MOLLERUP ADDED: "I THINK WE COULD ACCOMMODATE TWO MORE C-97'S AT SAO TOME." SUCH AN ADDITION, HE SAID, WOULD MAKE IT REALISTIC TO THINK OF 12 OR 13 PLANES MAKING A TOTAL OF 22 LANDINGS, "PUTTING US VERY CLOSE TO 300 METRIC TONS A NIGHT." AIRLIFT COULD NOT EXCEED THIS TONNAGE, MOLLERUP CONTINUED, BECAUSE SAO TOME HARBOR FACILITIES AND WAREHOUSING WON'T HANDLE INCREASED TONNAGE REQUIRED TO FURTHER AUGMENT AIRLIFT.

6. MOLLERUP STRESSED NECESSITY OF GETTING TRANSPORT VEHICLES INTO ENCLAVE. "IT IS IN OUR INTEREST," HE EXPLAINED, "THAT CARGO BE HANDLED EFFECTIVELY AT ULI. BLACK MARKET IS SUPPLIED MOMENT YOU LOSE CONTROL AT ULI." WICHMANN EMPHASIZED THAT MILITARY HAS BEEN COMMANDEERING VEHICLES FOR OWN USES.

7. WICHMANN SAID AUTO DIRECTIONAL FINDER (ADF) AT ULI VERY VITAL BACKUP FOR BEACON WHICH ALSO SERVES AS NAVIGATIONAL AID FOR NAF "INTRUDER." MOLLERUP SAID ADF INSTALLED AFTER TWO RECENT ACCIDENTS AT ULI. "SHORT OF RADAR SUPPORT," HE SAID, "THIS, WE THOUGHT, BEST WE COULD DO." CALLED IT REASONABLE COMPROMISE IN TERMS OF FLIGHT SAFETY AND TONNAGE.

8. DURING DISCUSSION OF NAF NIGHT FIGHTER CAPABILITY, WICHMANN POINTED OUT "WE DO KNOW THAT RUSSIANS ARE SO CAREFUL WITH NIGHT FIGHTER CAPABILITY THAT EVEN EAST GERMANS DON'T HAVE IT."

9. MOLLERUP, WHO RETURNED HERE NOV 12 FROM VISIT TO ENCLAVE AND SAO TOME, REPORTED GUN-RUNNING FROM ISLAND HAS BEEN REDUCED BECAUSE OPERATORS FORCED TO PAY CASH FOR PETROL. "MOST OF ARMS TRAFFIC IS APT TO BE AWAY FROM SAO TOME," HE SAID. ALSO REPORTED AFRICA CONCERN MAY OPERATE FROM SAO TOME. NOT CERTAIN ORGANIZATION GIVING UP LIBREVILLE BASE.

10. MOLLERUP SAID GETTING ADDITIONAL CREWS FOR C-97 STICKY ISSUE DEPENDING ON WHETHER ALL C-97'S WILL FLY UNDER FAA REGULATIONS OR WHETHER SOME COULD BE REGISTERED ELSEWHERE. FERGUSON SAID:

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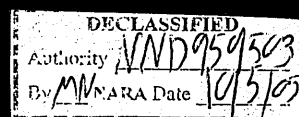
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C-97'S PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO FLY UNDER AMERICAN REGULATIONS, WHICH, OF COURSE, RAISES ADDITIONAL EXPENSES. MOLLERUP SAID THERE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSIONS AT COTONOU ABOUT ICRC C-97 CREWS. RECALLED THAT MASTERSON, WHO HAD MORE THAN 16,000 HOURS, HAD TO GO TO COTONOU FOR EXTENSIVE TRAINING AND CHECKING OUT ON C-97. THIS PROCEDURE, HE SAID, HAS DISCOURAGED SOME PILOTS.
DUDLEY

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**
to Sec 3 Red Cross

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /154 W

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P R 251110Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2976
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 4510

SUBJ: FERGUSON MTG AT DANISH FONOFF

1. FERGUSON AND THUNE ANDERSEN DISCUSSED FREYMOND'S PLAN FOR NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES FLY GOODS TO ULI FOR ICRC DISTRIBUTION IN ENCLAVE. ANDERSEN REPORTED NO NORDIC ENTHUSIASM FOR FREYMOND PLAN AND WONDERED WHY FREYMOND RAISED QUESTION WITH GOVT REPS AT HAGUE GROUP MTG LAST WEEK BEFORE RAISING WITH NATIONAL SOCIETIES. "IF WE ARE IN SITUATION WHERE WE ARE GOING TO BREAK RULES SOME MORE, MY FEELING IS WE SHOULD SUPPORT CHURCHES ALREADY FLYING RATHER THAN A NEW ORGANIZATION," ANDERSEN COMMENTED.

2. ANDERSEN RECALLED SEC GEN NORWEGIAN RED CROSS DEVELOPED SIMILAR PLAN LAST SUMMER BUT SUBSEQUENTLY CHANGED POSITION. NORDIC SOCIETIES HAVE MET ON FREYMOND PLAN AND UNITED IN DISINTEREST. ANDERSEN DOUBTS NORDIC GOVTS WILL UNDERTAKE TO PERSUADE NATIONAL SOCIETIES TO CHANGE BASIC ATTITUDE. SAID "NORWEGIANS MOST DYNAMIC AND ENTHUSIASTIC OF US ALL BUT IN THIS CASE I AM SURE THE NECESSARY ENTHUSIASM COULD NOT BE RAISED."

3. ANDERSEN ALSO REPORTED SHIFT IN NORWEGIAN THINKING ON UCA

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FLIGHTS, WITH OSLO PLANNING TO PUT PRESSURE ON NORDCHURCHAD TO WORK FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. "WE HOPE FROM DANISH SIDE," HE CONTINUED, "THAT EVEN OUR OWN MAN, PASTOR MOLLERUP, WILL GO WHOLEHEARTEDLY FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS." MOLLERUP, HE SAID, HAS ASKED GOVT FOR MORE FUNDS, NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE, "BUT MY OWN FEELING IS HE WILL GET FUNDS" WITH NO CONDITIONS ATTACHED, BUT WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT JCA WORK FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

4. ANDERSEN SAID NORDICS DISCUSSED LEGALITY ISSUE OF NIGHT AIRLIFT, PARTICULARLY WITHIN CONTEXT OF GOVT SUPPORT FOR ICRC OPERATION. SWEDISH LEGAL EXPERT TOOK "ABSOLUTELY NEGATIVE POSITION," ANDERSEN SAID, WITH DANISH EXPERT TAKING OPPOSITE POINT OF VIEW. "THE NORWEGIANS AND FINNS SEEM TO BE FOLLOWING SWEDISH LINE," HE CONTINUED. "THE SWEDES ARE MORE LEGALISTIC THAN WE ARE." HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, DANISH GOVT NOT LIKELY TO DO MORE THAN GIVE FUNDS TO NORDCHURCHAD. WILL NOT SUPPORT OR URGE SUPPORT OF ICRC PLAN IN VIEW OF STRONG SWEDISH POSITION ON LEGAL ISSUE.

5. FERGUSON ASKED IF ANDERSEN WOULD CONSULT AGAIN WITH NORDICS. PROMISED TO BE IN TOUCH WITH ANDERSEN SHORTLY AFTER FERGUSON RETURN WASHINGTON. GP-4.
DUDLEY

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

AID-28 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 SCSE-00 SCA-01 PC-04 RSR-01

/159 W

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R 241415Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 95
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA
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UNCLAS LAGOS 10189

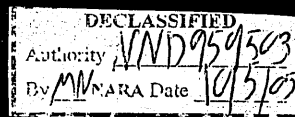
SUBJECT: EDITORIAL ON RELIEF MATTERS

1. NOV 24 OBSERVER HAS LONG FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL REVIEW-
ING RECENT STATEMENTS BY SECSTATE, CANADIAN PM TRUDEAU
AND OTHERS WHICH IT SAYS IS EVIDENCE THAT SOME WORLD GOVERNMENTS
QTE PREVIOUSLY EITHER CRITICAL OF FEDERAL NIGERIA OR WHO
HAD ADOPTED MORE OR LESS HANDS-OFF POLICY, BEGINNING TO
APPRECIATE FULL AND TRUE NATURE OF CIVIL WAR UNTE.
ON SECSTATES STATEMENT SAYS HE QTE GENEROUS IN HIS
PRAISE OF FEDERAL NIGERIAS ATTITUDE TOWARD AGONIES OF
PEOPLE STILL SUFFERING UNDER EMEKA OJUKWUS RAPIDLY
SHRINKING DICTATORSHIP UNQTE, AND QUOTES REFERENCE TO RMGJS
ACTING CONSTRUCTIVELY IN AGREEING TO ICRC PROPOSAL. THEN
STATES QTE HE FLATLY REJECTED OJUKWUS FLIMSY OBJECTIONS.
MR. ROGERS STATEMENT CERTAINLY WAS COMPLETE REVERSAL OF
OPINIONS HE EXPRESSED SO FORCEFULLY ONLY FEW MONTHS AGO

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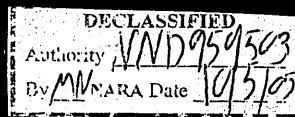
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UNQTE. POINTING TO RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WHICH IT
CHARACTERIZES AS QTE CURRENTLY CONDUCTING ALL-OUT PRO-REBEL
MONEY-RAISING CAMPAIGN IN CANADA. UNQTE. OPINES QTE ONE IS
LEFT WITH NO CHOICE BUT TO CONDEMN PROPAGANDA AND
ACTIVITIES BY SUCH AS JOINT CHURCH AID, CARITAS, FRENCH
RED CROSS AND CERTAIN SECTIONS OF OXFAM AS SHEER HYPOCRISY...
ONE THEREFORE ALSO MUST VIEW WITH JUSTIFIED SUSPICION
REJECTION BY THESE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE ICRC AS COORDINATOR
OF ALL RELIEF OPERATIONS ON BOTH SIDES UNQTE. CLOSES WITH
WARNING THAT DESPITE APPARENT FAVORABLE TURN IN WORLD
ATTITUDES, QTE OJUKWU AND HIS SINISTER ASSOCIATES ABROAD
WILL LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED TO REGAIN
SYMPATHIES THEY
HAVE LOST UNQTE.
TRUEHEART

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10217 241812Z

51-42

ACTION: UCF-01

INFO: OCT-01 SS-20 AF-05 IO-04 EUR-12 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-06 PM-03 NSC-10 SR-01

RSR-01 RSC-01 /065 W

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PIR 241722Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 107
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10217

LIMDIS

REF: A) STATE 196749; B) STATE 196751; C) GENEVA 4231;
D) GENEVA 4223; E) LAGOS 10157

1. WE APPRECIATE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH HAVE LED TO DECISION TO PERMIT TRANSFER OF C-97'S BY ICRC TO JCA, DESPITE RECOGNITION RESULTING DIFFICULTIES IN U. S. - NIGERIAN RELATIONS. WE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT DECISION CAN STILL BE CARRIED OUT IN SUCH FASHION AND DELIBERATE SPEED AS NOT TO UNDERMINE POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGEMENT FOR ICRC DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT WHICH REMAINS BEST HOPE FOR ADEQUATE RELIEF TO ENCLAVE. SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WILL REQUIRE MAINTENANCE OF CONSIDERABLE DEGREE TO RAPPORT BETWEEN ICRC AND FMG WHICH BIGNAMI HAS DEVELOPED AND WHICH MAY BE SERIOUSLY ERODED IF ICRC IMMEDIATELY ADOPTS PROGRAM OUTLINED REF B. (REF C APPEARS TO INDICATE ICRC ALREADY CONCERNED OVER THIS PROBLEM.)

2. IF WE AND THE ICRC ARE TO MAINTAIN CREDIBILITY IN OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP PRESSURE ON FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, IT SEEMS TO US IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN SOME LIFT CAPABILITY IN COTONOU, E. G. THE TRANSAL AND THE TWO CLCOUS, AS EVIDENCE THIS DETERMINATION. WE DO NOTE THAT THE POSSIBILITY REMAINS OPEN FOR THE ICRC TO RETAIN TWO OF THE FOUR C-97'S AND/OR TO RETAIN RECALL

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RIGHTS ON THE C-97'S IN THE EVENT THEY NEEDED AGAIN FOR ICRC SERVICE.

3. BIAFRAN STATEMENT REPORTED REFID, PARTICULARLY THIRD PARA, PROVIDES AN OPENING FOR RENEWED PUSH ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS BY ICRC, IN SUGGESTING THAT CLAUSE 6.2 IS FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED (REF E), BIGNAMI HAS GOOD CHANCE GETTING FMG TO AGREE TO CHANGE IN THIS CLAUSE WHICH WOULD LEAVE BIAFRANS ONE LESS LEG ON WHICH TO STAND IN OPPOSITION. WE STILL HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO PLAY OUT THIS STRING BEFORE OTHER INITIATIVES ARE LAUNCHED, NONE OF WHICH SEEM TO US TO HAVE AS GOOD CHANCE OF SUCCESS, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY PROVIDE SENSE OF MOVEMENT.

4. TONE OF BIAFRAN NOW 19 STATEMENT INDICATES THEY ARE VERY MUCH ON DEFENSIVE FOLLOWING SECRETARY'S STATEMENT AND OTHERS BY TRUDEAU, WILSON AND THE DUTCH. OJUKWU CLEARLY PLAYING A POLITICAL GAME FOR SUPPORT AND RECOGNITION AND PRESUMABLY WILL YIELD ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR RELIEF TO WHICH FMG CAN AGREE ONLY WHEN HE FACES POLITICAL LOSSES BY NOT DOING SO. WE THINK BEST MEANS ACHIEVING DAYLIGHT AGREEMENT WOULD BE REITERATE STRONG BELIEF ON PART AS MANY GOVERNMENTS AND RELIEF INSTITUTIONS AS POSSIBLE THAT ICRC PROPOSAL REASONABLE AND THAT WE HAVE CONFIDENCE FMG WILL NOT REPEAT NOT TAKE MILITARY ADVANTAGE OF SITUATION. IT WOULD BE USEFUL ALSO TO REEMPHASIZE FACT THAT CROSS RIVER ROUTE AND PROPOSALS FOR NEW AIRFIELDS OF NO IMMEDIATE USE BECAUSE LOW WATER SEASON ON US AND BECAUSE OF TIME FACTOR AND COSTLY DIVERSION RELIEF PLANES TO CARRYING CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL. IN THIS CONNECTION IT WOULD SEEM TIME TO ASSERT THAT BIAFRANS ALREADY HAVE ANOTHER OPERABLE AIRFIELD IN UGA AND THAT ULI NOT REPEAT NOT REQUIRED NOR IN FACT MUCH USED IF AT ALL FOR BIAFRAN DAYLIGHT MILITARY MISSIONS. IN SHORT, THERE NO REPEAT NO VALID MILITARY REASON WHY BIAFRANS CANNOT RELEASE ULI FOR DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. GP-3
TRUEHEART

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MWARRA
Date	10/5/05

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196752
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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS

STATE

EXDIS

REFERENCE: (a) Lagos 10134; (b) State 195055

FOR AMBASSADOR

1. Discussion with Iyalla here was quite general and focused principally on evident French ~~is~~ willingness to continue dialogue on negotiations and probable receptivity to FMG suggestions. Details mentioned ref (a) not discussed and should not be raised with ~~Amk~~ Arikpo, except for idea international observer ~~force~~ ^{force} to help meet security and resettlement problem. which FMG accepts.

2. Even though Arikpo trip ^{to} Paris now less certain, believe it will be useful for you to have discussion with him, along lines ref (b), as follow up to our talks with Iyalla and earnest our continuing interest.

(4)
DRAFTED BY:
AF/SN-GSherry:chg

DRAFTING DATE
11/22/69

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:
AF - Mr. Newsom

CLEARANCES:

S/PC- Mr. Ruser

S/S - Mr. Brandt

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[ROGERS]

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196749

22 Nov 69 20 28z

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: US Mission GENEVA
Amembassy LONDON

STATE _____

LIMDIS

REF:

SUBJECT: Disposition ICRC G-97's

1. As indicated reftel, we now prepared agree transfer provided ICRC willing take responsibility by ICRC its G-97's to JCA/for augmentation mercy airlift. societies

We also prepared support national Red Cross societies in airlift programs. through money and supplies.

2. Although we not planning notify FMG these actions and intend regard them as ICRC not USG actions as far as probability FMG concerned, we fully aware probability FMG adverse reaction. We would seem to be rewarding FMG for its forthcoming response in accepting ICRC daylight proposal by merely acquiescing in Biafran intransigence.

DRAFTED BY
AF/SN:GBSherry

DRAFTING DATE
11/22/69

TEL. EXT.
29311

APPROVED BY
U:ENRichardson

CLEARANCES:

U/AF - Mr. Foley
S/PC - Mr. Ruser

AF - Mr. Newsom

S/S - Mr. Brandt

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3. However, failure to date all proposals for alternatives to augmented night airlift, leaves us with no choice but undertake action described above if we to meet overriding necessity of maximizing relief. We would hope explanation that American people will not permit aircraft already in mercy airlift to stand idle whatever the reason will carry some weight, at least with Gowon, if it becomes necessary for us to respond to FMG criticism. *We are not abandoning pressures for flights, although* ~~We are not abandoning pressures for~~ *revision of request seen from* legal flights although ~~dim~~ prospects at moment seem dim.

end

[ROGERS]

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4-68

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ACTION AID-28

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 UPW-01 SCS-04
SCA-01 E-15 IGA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
EUR-20 RSR-01 /171 W

057369

P R 241130Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
SECSTATE WASHDC 3814
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4231

REF: STATE 192695

1. AMMANN, ICRC, REQUESTED THAT 1,000 MT STOCKFISH HELD FOR RC IN ICELAND BE TRANSFERRED TO JCA. AGREEMENT GIVEN (REFTEL).
2. AMMAN REQUESTS THAT USG FOR SAKE OF ICRC RELATIONS WITH FMG STATE ITS AGREEMENT TO REPLACE STOCKFISH SHOULD ICRC BE IN POSITION TO SUPPLY FOOD AGAIN. COULD WASHINGTON AGREE TO FOLLOWING WORDING: "USG WOULD CONSIDER REPLACING 1,000 TONS STOCKFISH SHOULD ICRC BEGAIN FORMAL PROGRAM OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS." OR SOMETHING SIMILAR? ICRC NEEDS FACE-SAVING ANSWER IN ORDER TO PROTECT ITSELF IN ITS CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH FMG AND IN ITS EFFORTS TO TRANSFER ITS STOCKS TO ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE IN A POSITION TO USE IT.
RIMESTAD

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11-24-69

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UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01

/160 W

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P R 241410Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 490
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4233

COPENHAGEN FOR AMB FERGUSON

FOLLOWING MESSAGES EXCHANGED BETWEEN ICRC AND ICECROSS OF
ICELAND REGARDING PLAN TO REQUEST NATIONAL RC SOCIETIES SPONSOR
AIRLIFT TO ULI: QUOTE.

1. FROM ICECROSS TO ICRC. ICRCROSS HAS BEEN APPROACHED BY
BOARD CHAIRMAN OF FRAGTFLUG REFERRING CAPT. JOHANNESSEN'S PRIVATE
TALKS. ICRC STAFF MEMBER GENEVA SUGGESTING ICRCROSS TAKE OVER
SOME ICRC RELIEF ACTION BIAFRA. ICRCROSS WILLING TO DISCUSS ANY
ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE TO HELP EITHER ALONE OR PREFERABLY JOINTLY
WITH ONE OR MORE RC SOCIETIES.

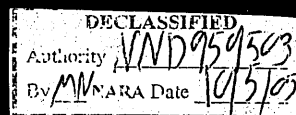
2. ICRC TO ICRCROSS. YOURS OF 13 NOVEMBER. WOULD BE INTERESTED TO
KNOW IF ICRCROSS EITHER SINGLY OR JOINTLY WITH OTHER NORDIC
SOCIETIES WOULD CONSIDER FORWARDING RELIEF INTO BIAFRA USING
FRAGTFLUG. ICRC DELEGATION IN BIAFRA WOULD BE READY TO ASSUME
RESPONSIBILITY FOR DISTRIBUTION. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR EARLY REPLY.
SIGNED BASSET.

3. ICECROSS TO ICRC. YOURS OF 20 NOVEMBER. ICECROSS WILLING
CONSIDER PROPOSAL EXPRESSED. ICECROSS EMPHASIZES: PRIMO:

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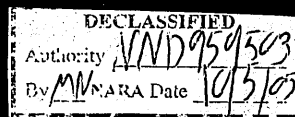
PAGE 02 GENEVA 04233 241434Z

NOT MORE INTERESTED IN FRAGTFLUG THAN OTHER CARRIERS. SECUNDO:
ICECROSS PARTICIPATION REQUIRES FULL BACKING MORALLY, FINANCIALLY
AND TECHNICALLY FROM ICRC/LEAGUE AND PREFERABLY AND OR MORE
NORDIC SOCIETIES.
READY TO MEET GENEVA REPRESENTATIVES ICRC/LEAGUE AND OTHER
NORDIC SOCIETIES. UNQUOTE.
RIMESTAD

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12

0326



THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

19349

19235

To: The Secretary of State

Date: November 24, 1969

ACTION REQUESTED

- ☒ Draft reply for signature of the undersigned.
- ☐ President's signature.
- ☐ Undersigned's signature.
- ☐ Memorandum for use as enclosure to reply.
- ☐ Direct reply.
- ☐ Furnish information copy.
- ☐ Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling.
- ☐ Furnish copy of reply, if any.
- ☐ For your information.
- ☐ For comment.

NOTE

Prompt action is essential.
If more than 48 hours' delay is encountered, please telephone the undersigned immediately, Code 1450.

Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.

REMARKS:

Description:

(to order of Richard M. Nixon, No. 189, on Bankers Trust Company, NYCity, for \$100, sgd. Joseph A. Schellings (for relief to Biafra))

☒ Letter: ☐ Telegram: ☐ Other:

To: The President

From: Joseph A. Schellings, 8802 Ridge Blvd, Brooklyn, New York

Date: 11/14/69

Subject: Supports President's efforts obtain just peace in Vietnam; encloses check for \$100 for relief to Biafra--feels U.S. should undertake relief effort in Biafra absence of the International Red Cross.

By direction of the President:

Noble M. Melencamp
Staff Assistant
to the President

rah

(Copy to remain with correspondence)

Rec 27-14 Ver
X.R. Rec 27-9 Rifer

0327

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Authority: VND 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09574 241905Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCSE-00 SCA-01

AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

RSR-01 /156 W

059559

R 241734Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4392
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS LONDON 9574

SUBJECT: FONSECITY MICHAEL STEWART ON BIAFRA

AT NOON, NOVEMBER 23, FONSECITY MICHAEL STEWART WAS INTERVIEWED ON BBC "THE WORLD THIS WEEKEND". AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS, STEWART WAS QUERIED ON BIAFRA BY ANTHONY HOWARD. Q AND A TRANSCRIPT FOLLOWS:

QUOTED A.H. COULD WE THEN GO ON TO BIAFRA? COULD I ASK YOU WHAT IS THE DIFFICULTY ABOUT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MOUNTING AN AIRLIFT TO SAVE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE FROM STARVATION, WHY CANT WE USE NAVY AND AIR FORCE ON THIS RESCUE OPERATION?

M.S. WELL, TWO POINTS, FIRST OF ALL, OF COURSE, WE CANT JUST USE BRITISH NAVY AND AIR FORCE IN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY WITH OUT ANY CONSULTATION ABOUT THEIR WISHES. SECOND POINT THERE IS ALREADY WORKABLE PLAN WHICH IS AGREED WITH NIGERIAN GOVT AND RED CROSS, WHICH CAN BE REGARDED AS NEUTRAL IMPARTIAL BODY IN THIS MATTER, WHEREBY SUPPLIES COULD BE FLOWN IN STARTING FROM OUTSIDE NIGERIA, WITH OCCASIONAL RIGHT OF NIGERIAN GOVT TO CHECK IT ISNT BEING ABUSED, AND GOING IN, FOOD IS THERE, SUPPLIES ARE THERE, WEVE CONTRIBUTED A MILLION POUNDS TO THOSE

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*London - 9574
11-24-69*

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PAGE 02 LONDON 09574 241905Z

SUPPLIES. NOW WHY CANT THEY GO IN?

A.M. BUT DOESNT SOMEONE HAVE TO BREAK THIS DREADFUL DEADLOCK, AND ISNT BRITISH GOVT UNDER SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY AS, IF YOU LIKE, FATHER OF NIGERIA, FORMER COLONIAL POWER?

M.S. WELL WE ARE UNDER RESPONSIBILITY, EVERYTHING WE HUMANLY CAN DO. BUT I SAY AGAIN THE PLAN I'VE DESCRIBED, WHICH WAS AGREED BOTH BY NIGERIA AND RED CROSS, WHICH COULD BRING IN FOOD WITHOUT ANY MILITARY RISKS, TO COL OJUKWU. AND I GATHER HE IS WORRIED ABOUT THAT. BUT RED CROSS ARE SATISFIED ITS A REASONABLE PLAN, USG HAS PLEDGED ITS GOOD FAITH TO SAY THAT IT BELIEVES THIS IS RIGHT WAY OF DEALING WITH PROBLEM. BRITAIN IS READY TO GIVE EVERY POSSIBLE MATERIAL HELP TO MAKE THIS PLAN WORK. IT SEEMS TO ME EVERY HUMANE PERSON OUGHT NOW TO SAY TO COL OJUKWU, 'FOR GODS SAKE LET THIS STUFF COME THROUGH.' UNQUOTE. ANNENBERG

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STATE _____

LIMDIS

REF: State 196371 *Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria*

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief

Disregard reftel. Take no repeat no action thereon.

END

196725

(7)

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: U/CA:JWFoley <i>JWF</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11/22/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF - Mr. Foley <i>JWF</i>
CLEARANCES: AF/SN - Mr. Sherry <i>GS</i>			

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**



109
ACTION COPY

Lagos 10/14/11-21-69

045060

STATE 195717 RECEIVED LAGOS. REFERENCES STATE 193260
AND GENEVA 4185 NEITHER OF WHICH RECEIVED HERE.
APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT REPEATING THESE CABLES.
TRUEHEART

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NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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D	✓ 7	EUR	
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S/CFR		Vice President	
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STATE: _____

LIMDIS

SUBJ : Nigerian Relief

1. It may become necessary to seek charter of European registry aircraft for Biafran relief effort. Department would appreciate asap estimate addressee posts on availability for QTE wet-lease UNQTE of large four-motor cargo aircraft such as Super Constellation, DC-7, etc.
2. Posts should minimize and be discreet in making commercial inquiries that could give rise to speculation. No indication should be given of contemplated use.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley:bjr <i>ja</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11-21-69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF - Mr. Foley <i>mf</i>
CLEARANCES: AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck <i>MB</i> E/OA/AVP - Mr. Feehan(subst.) <i>MB</i>			

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FORM DS-322
4-68

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By *MM* NARA Date *10/5/05*



Pol 27-9 Biafra/Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09531 220956Z

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 UPW-01

RSR-01 /154 W

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R 220930Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4361
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL L LONDON 9531

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF - FERGUSON DISCUSSIONS IN LONDON

1. FERGUSON, ACCOMPANIED BY DEWEY AND EMBOFF WALKER MET THIS P.M. (NOV. 21) WITH FOLEY AND TEBBIT FOR UPDATE ON RELIEF SITUATION.

2. FERGUSON DISCUSSED EFFECTS CURRENT ICRC DECISIONS, NOTING CONCOMITANT DANGERS OF PROLIFERATION OF SUPPLIES IN F.O.B. ULI ARRANGEMENT; DESCRIBED TENSIONS WITHIN UCA CONCERNING IMAGE AND GROWING PRESSURES TO INCREASE ITS AIRLIFT CAPACITY WITH ADDITION HIGHER CAPACITY AIRCRAFT (E.G. C-10'S). FERGUSON MENTIONED ADVANTAGES OF EXPANDING RELIEF BASE, POSSIBLY THROUGH BROADENED HAGUE GROUP AND GREATER ROLE FOR AFRICAN RED CROSS SOCIETIES (FOLEY MOST INTERESTED BUT NON-COMMITTAL). DISCUSSED GROWING FRUSTRATION OF BOTH BRITISH AND US CONSTITUENCIES AND DEMANDS FOR AT LEAST MORE APPEARANCE OF MOVEMENT. THEY NOTED SERIOUSNESS NUTRITIONAL SITUATION IMPELLED CONTINUING SUPPORT TO THOSE DOING JOB, SPECIFICALLY UCA.

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PAGE 02 LONDON 09531 220956Z

3. FOLEY AND TEBBIT FOLLOWED DEWEY'S SUMMARY OF RECENT BIAFRA SURVEY WITH GREAT INTEREST, ASKED MANY QUESTIONS.

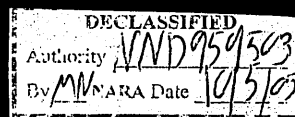
4. ANSWERING FOLEY'S QUESTION "WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?", FERGUSON SAID SECRETARY'S NOV. 12 STATEMENT MET IMMEDIATE US PRESSURES FOR WHITE PAPER ON RELIEF EFFORT, BUT TIME NO DOUBT APPROACHING FOR COMPREHENSIVE PAPER COVERING FATE FULL SCOPE OF RELIEF INITIATIVES. FOLEY SAID IT COULD BE MOST USEFUL TO HAVE ADVANCE INFORMATION ON ISSUANCE SUCH A PAPER, MIGHT PERMIT HIM TO INFLUENCE TIMING OF INEVITABLE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON SUBJECT.

5. IN DISCUSSING RECENT IMMEDIATE BLASTS FROM BIAFRA AGAINST US AND UK, FERGUSON SAID THIS PREDICTABLE DUE OJUKWU'S NEED TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM HEAVY PROPAGANDA LOSSES HE SUFFERED IN TURNING DOWN DAY FLIGHTS. IN THIS VEIN, FOLEY NOTED HE HAD MET WITH MBANEFO IN LATTERS LONDON CLUB, HAD CONVEYED TO OJUKWU THROUGH HIM OFFER OF GOOD OFFICES IN EITHER RELIEF OR PEACE. MBANEFO FOLLOWED THROUGH IN BIAFRA WITH BLAST AGAINST "MEDDLING"--- POSSIBLY TO REASSERT HIS HAWKISHNESS IN WAKE ZIK'S INSINUATIONS OF DEFECTION.

5. SESSION CLOSED WITH WARM EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR FILL-IN ON MOST RECENT UYCF ACTIVITIES. ANNENBERG.

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /154 W

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P R 221300Z NOV 69
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3809
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

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COPENHAGEN FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJ: MARKPRESS RELEASE

BIAFRA RE-STATES RELIEF CASE

OWERRI, BIAFRA, NOVEMBER 19, 1969 (BOPS)

NOW THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER HAS JOINED BOTH
HAROLD WILSON AND MR WILLIAM ROGERS IN APPEALING TO BIAFRA
TO ALLOW DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHT INTO BIAFRA. BECAUSE OF
THE POWERFUL LOBBY WHICH THESE THREE GOVERNMENTS
REPRESENT, IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY FOR THE BIAFRAN
GOVERNMENT TO RESTATE ITS POLICY ON DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHT.

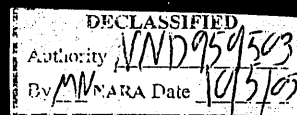
IT MAY BE RECALLED THAT LAST YEAR, BIAFRA HANDED
OVER UTURU AIRPORT AND DISMANTLED HER DEFENCES THERE TO
PERMIT EASIER USE OF THE AIRPORT FOR RELIEF OPERATIONS.
NIGERIA QUICKLY MOVED IN AND CAPTURED THE AIRPORT.
NIGERIA HAS SINCE ASSAULTED ICRC PERSONNEL AT OKIGWI AND
OTHER ICRC INSTITUTIONS. ON JUNE 5 THIS YEAR, NIGERIA

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11-22-69

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IDENTIFIED AND SHOT DOWN IN BROAD DAYLIGHT AN ICRC RELIEF PLANE. BECAUSE OF THESE AND OTHER GLARING ACTS OF ABUSE ON THE PART OF NIGERIA, THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT IS OBLIGED TO PROTECT ITS ONLY LIFE-LINE WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

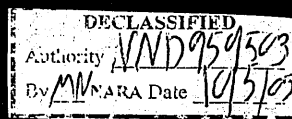
FOR FOUR MONTHS NOW, THE ICRC AND OTHER INTERESTED BODIES HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO PERSUADE, AMONG OTHERS, THE CANADIAN AND UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEES. NIGERIA'S INTENTIONS AND THOSE OF HER POWERFUL ALLIES, IN URGING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS WERE CLEARLY MANIFESTED IN CLAUSE TWO OF THE AGREEMENT WITH THE ICRC WHICH ALLOWS NIGERIA TO CARRY OUT MILITARY OPERATIONS AT THE SAME TIME AND ALONG THE SAME ROUTE AS THE DAYLIGHT RELIEF OPERATIONS.

NIGERIA IS IN POSSESSION OF AT LEAST 12 AIRFIELDS FROM WHICH SHE CAN CONTINUE HER MILITARY OFFENSIVE BY AIR AGAINST BIAFRA. ON THE OTHER HAND, BIAFRA'S ULI AIRPORT IS HER ONLY LINK AND BASE FOR AERIAL OPERATIONS. BY APPLYING PRESSURE ON BIAFRA TO ACCEPT DAYLIGHT RELIEF AT ULI AIRPORT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION IS CLEARLY TO NEUTRALISE THIS AIRPORT AND THE BIAFRAN AIR FORCE SO THAT THE BRITISH OIL COMPANIES CAN OPERATE WITHOUT HARASSMENT FROM BIAFRAN PLANES, WHICH DO NOT HAVE NIGHT CAPABILITY. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT BIAFRA HAD ALWAYS PROPOSED THE CONSTRUCTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEUTRAL AIRPORT EXCLUSIVELY FOR RELIEF. ALSO THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT IS GETTING INCREASINGLY WORRIED OVER THE INTENTIONS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. THE IMPRESSION IS GAINING GROUND THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS NOT SO MUCH INTERESTED IN BRINGING RELIEF TO THE SUFFERING PEOPLE OF BIAFRA AS IN ASSISTING HER ALLY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN SECURING MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGES. IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION SHOULD NOW BEGIN TO SOFT-PEDAL OVER THE CROSS RIVER ROUTE ONLY AFTER BIAFRA HAS INDICATED ACCEPTANCE OF THE PLAN AS AN EFFECTIVE AND ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF BRINGING IN MASSIVE RELIEF MATERIALS. IT IS ALSO AN OPEN SECRET THAT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS PUT MANY RELIEF ORGANISATIONS STILL OPERATING IN BIAFRA UNDER EXTREME PRESSURE TO STOP NIGHT FLIGHTS. BESIDES FINANCING NIGERIAN ROADS WITH

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MILITARY POTENTIAL, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS TRANSFERRED TO THE NIGERIAN WAR MACHINE THE BOATS ORIGINALLY INTENDED FOR THE CROSS RIVER SURFACE ROUTE.

HAROLD WILSON'S RECENT STATEMENT HARDLY DESERVES COMMENT, EXCEPT TO DEMONSTRATE THE FALSITY, HYPOCRISY AND CYNICISM OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. HE CLAIMS THAT NO COUNTRY HAS PLAYED A GREATER PART THAN BRITAIN IN TRYING TO ALLEVIATE THE STARVATION AND SUFFERING CAUSED BY THE NIGERIAN WAR, WHILST HE HIMSELF IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS STARVATION BY ARMING THE NIGERIANS TO CONTINUE THE WAR. IT MAY BE RECALLED THAT THE ONLY RESULT OF LORD HUNT'S VISIT TO LAGOS, SPONSORED BY MR. WILSON WAS TO PROVIDE MILITARY TRUCKS AND BRITISH MERCENARY DRIVERS TO THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT, AS THE BREAKDOWN OF EXPENDITURE LATER SHOWED. THE TRUTH IS THAT THE MEAGRE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RELIEF EFFORTS HAVE BEEN SPENT ON THE NIGERIAN SIDE AND HAVE SERVED LARGELY TO IMPROVE NIGERIA'S MILITARY POTENTIAL AND TO FEED HER ARMED FORCES. CONTRIBUTIONS TO RELIEF, EVEN FROM THE BRITISH PUBLIC, HAVE BEEN HAMPERED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO AN EXTENT THAT ON A PER CAPITA BASIS THEY ARE LESS AND ARE IN FACT A MERE FRACTION OF THE DONATIONS MADE BY THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. TO FURTHER DEMONSTRATE MR. WILSON'S CONCERN FOR THE STARVATION OF BIAFRANS, HIS FOREIGN SECRETARY, MR. STEWART, HAS SINCE REAFFIRMED GREATER BRITISH ARMS SUPPLY TO NIGERIA AND A JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF NIGERIA'S GENOCIDAL WAR. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT. RIMESTAD

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54

ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 URW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /154 W

051809

P R 221300Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3810
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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COPENHAGEN FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJ: MARKPRESS RELEASE

BIAFRA STILL MAINTAINS THAT RELIEF IS AT BEST A
PALLIATIVE. THE REAL SOLUTION TO RELIEF LIES IN THE
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT. FOR THIS, THE
ALLIES OF BRITAIN AND NIGERIA SHOULD APPEAL TO THEM TO
ACCEPT AN UNCONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE.

TO ALLOW MORE MASSIVE RELIEF TO COME IN,
BIAFRA HAS ACCEPTED THE CROSS RIVER SURFACE ROUTE SCHEME
PROPOSED BY THE U.S. BIAFRA ALSO WELCOMES THE PROPOSAL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF CONSCIENCE TO BRING IN
RELIEF BY AIRCRAFT CARRIERS AND HELICOPTERS, AND IMPLEORES
ALL MEN OF GOODWILL TO GIVE THEIR SUPPORT TO THESE HUMANI-
TARIAN EFFORTS. FINALLY, THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT,
IN SPITE OF THE OBVIOUS RISKS TO THE SECURITY OF ITS
PEOPLE, STILL SUPPORTS DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS SUBJECT
TO EFFECTIVE GUARANTEES, SO THAT THE OPERATIONS ARE NOT
EXPLOITED FOR MILITARY OR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE BY EITHER

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STATE

LIMDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON FROM UNDERSECRETARY

SUBJECT: Nigeria-Biafra Relief--ICRC Discussions

REF: London 9493

appreciates

1. Dept ~~appreciates~~ clarification in reftel of C-97
discussions with ICRC.2. Following to be taken up with ICRC when you return
Geneva:

A. Disposition C-97's. You authorized inform ICRC
that USG willing acquiesce in disposition four C-97's in
whatever manner ICRC feels will facilitate expanded air-
lift into enclave by JCA or possibly ICRC at some later
date (so long as disposition limited to JCA and/or ICRC).

DRAFTED BY:

U/CF:JWFoley Jr.

DRAFTING DATE

11/22/69

TEL EXT.

23256

APPROVED BY:

U:ELRichardson

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubaker

S/PC - Mr. Ruser

S/S - Mr. Brande

AF - Mr. Newsom

AFR/CWA - Mr. North

NSC - Mr. Morris (substance)

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By

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-Page 2

However, we want ICRC to take full responsibility for disposition and have arrangements for transfer, standby etc. undertaken as ICRC action without reference to USG. Although we aware ICRC may be unwilling assume this responsibility, we seriously hope you able persuade ICRC to agree transfer to be handled this manner. FYI: This will help us meet ^{an} anticipated fire of FMG by taking position that planes belonged to ICRC and therefore we could not control disposition. END FYI: As previously instructed, nothing is to be said to ICRC regarding prospects of additional C-97's pending consideration after your return of best use these C-97's.

Request you
B. Airdrops. / ~~Enclosed you have received instructions~~
encourage ICRC (and JCA when opportunity offers) to
pursue more vigorously negotiations with FMG and Biafra
for daylight air drop scheme involving neutralized drop

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

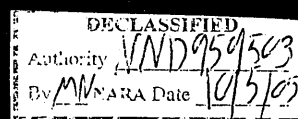
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ACTION: TO COPENHAGEN

-Page 3

zone removed from strategic targets or (in light Geneva's 4213) any variant daylight program. FYI: Canadians appear disposed push daylight air drop scheme and discussing publicly. END FYI. Important that effort be made to keep dialogue going on getting a mutually agreed relief arrangement even though we realize chances reaching agreement remote. Airdrop proposal offers particularly fruitful area since would deal with one of major problems (security Uli airfield) on which Biafrans have been so adamant.

C. Participation National Red Cross Societies.

Consider time has come for more active role on part of some European Red Cross societies in sponsoring airlift operations into Biafra. Request you urge ICRC approach national Red Cross societies immediately with view persuading them to charter aircraft and mount airlift programs. You may inform ICRC that USG prepared channel

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-Page 4

through ICRC support for such programs by providing relief supplies and funds to finance non-U.S. charter aircraft. Also, you may indicate USG ready lend diplomatic support to this effort and suggest discreetly you personally willing discuss with various national ^{societies} ~~societies~~ if ICRC would consider this helpful.

END

[ROGERS]

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10135 211750Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 UCF-05 UPW-01 RSR-01

/160 W

046875

R 211030Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 63
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10135

SUBJECT: DAYFLIGHTS MODIFICATION ICRC PROPOSAL

REF: LAGOS 9963

1. SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS TEXTS (UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED) PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS IN ICRC DAYLIGHT PROPOSAL TO BE GIVEN TO FMG AND BIAFRANS. FMG IS ASKED (1) RESPECT AND PROTECT ICRC CREWS AND AIRCRAFT; (2) NOT TO ATTACK ULT WHEN ICRC AIRCRAFT STATIONED THERE AND NOT TO ESCORT OR FOLLOW ICRC PLANES WITH MILITARY AIRCRAFT; AND (3) NOT TO TAKE MILITARY ADVANTAGE OF RELIEF OPERATION. BIAFRANS ASKED PLEDGE POINTS 1 AND 3 ABOVE AND TO AGREE NOT TO USE ULT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES WHEN ICRC AIRCRAFT STATIONED THERE OR DURING TIME RESERVED FOR AIRLIFT. TEXT FOR NIGERIA GIVEN EXTAFFI QTE INFORMALLY UNQTE. APPARENTLY, FROM INDICATIONS GENEVA 4167 PARA 7 BIAFRANS HAVE RECEIVED TEXT ALSO.

2. BEGIN TEXT: FOR NIGERIA. THE FMG HAS ALREADY AGREED TO ORGANISATION BY ICRC OF DAYLIGHT MERCY FLIGHTS INTO THE SECESSIONIST AREA, EFFECTED BY ICRC AIRCRAFT RESPECT AND PROTECTED BY BELLIGERENTS, INKEEPING WITH PRINCIPLES AND SPIRIT OF 1949 GENEVA CONVENTIONS. THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED ON 13TH SEPTEMBER 1969.

CASTRASTROPHIC FOOD SITUATION CONFRONTING INNOCENT

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10135 211750Z

VICTIMS OF CONFLICT DEMANDS START OF OPERATIONS WITHOUT DELAY. CONSIDERING CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES WHICH APPEARED REGARDING INTERPRETATION OF MILITARY CLAUSES, EXACT MEANING OF WHICH IS NOT EVIDENT IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING BY BELLIGERENTS AND DONORS (NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES, VOLUNTARY AGENCIES AND GOVERNMENTS), THE ICRC ENTREATS FMG TO UNDERTAKE:

- 1) TO RESPECT AND PROTECT THE ICRC AIRCRAFT AND CREWS FLYING RELIEF SUPPLIES AT TIMES AND/OR ROUTES PREVIOUSLY AGREED UPON
- 2) NOT TO ATTACK THE AGREED AIRPORT WHEN ICRC AIRCRAFT ARE STATIONED THERE, AND NOT TO HAVE THOSE AIRPLANES ESCORTED OR FOLLOWED BY MILITARY AIRCRAFT,
- 3) NOT TO ENDEAVOUR TO SECURE ANY MILITARY ADVANTAGE WHATSOEVER FROM THE RELIEF OPERATIONS.

ABOVE UNDERTAKING WOULD REPLACE CLAUSES 6.2 OF 13TH SEPTEMBER 1969 QTE AGREEMENT ON RELIEF FLIGHTS BY ICRC TO ULI/IBIALA UNQTE.

ICRC, WHILST REMINDING PARTIES ONCE AGAIN THAT OPERATIONS WILL BE EXCLUSIVELY HUMANITARIAN, IS SIMULTANEOUSLY ASKING CORRESPONDING UNDERTAKINGS FROM THE OTHER BELLIGERENT, PARTICULARLY TO REFRAIN FROM USING THE AGREED AIRPORT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES WHILST ICRC AIRCRAFT ARE STATIONED THERE, AND DURING TIME RESERVED FOR AGREED AIRLIFT.

IN VIEW OF URGENCY OF SITUATION, ICRC WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO FMG FOR A PROMPT REPLY. END NIGERIA TEXT.

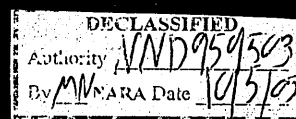
3. BEGIN TEXT: FOR BIAFRA. BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY AGREED TO ORGANISATION BY THE ICRC OF DAYLIGHT MERCY FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRA EFFECTED BY ICRC AIRCRAFT RESPECTED AND PROTECTED BY BELLIGERENTS, IN KEEPING WITH PRINCIPLES AND SPIRIT OF 1949 GENEVA CONVENTIONS.

CASTASTROPHIC FOOD SITUATION CONFRONTING INNOCENT VICTIMS OF CONFLICT DEMANDS START OF OPERATIONS WITHOUT DELAY. CONSIDERING CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES WHICH APPEARED REGARDING INTERPRETATION OF PROVISIONS REGARDING CONTINUED USE OF ULI AIRPORT FOR BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT'S OWN OPERATIONS, EXACT MEANING OF WHICH IS NOT EVIDENT IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING BY BELLIGERENTS AND DONORS (NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES, VOLUNTARY AGENCIES AND GOVERNMENTS), THE ICRC ENTREATS THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT TO UNDERTAKE:

- 1) TO RESPECT AND PROTECT THE ICRC AIRCRAFT AND CREWS FLYING

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 10135 211750Z

RELIEF SUPPLIES AT TIMES AND ON ROUTES PREVIOUSLY AGREED UPON,
2) TO USE AGREED AIRPORT FOR NO MILITARY PURPOSES WHEN ICRC
AIRCRAFT ARE STATIONED THERE, AND DURING THE TIME RESERVED FOR
AGREED AILIFT (PLUS X RPT X MINUTES TO BE AGREED),
3) NOT TO ENDEAVOUR TO SECURE ANY MILITARY ADVANTAGE WHATSOEVER
FROM THE RELIEF OPERATIONS.

ICRC WHILST REMINDING PARTIES ONCE AGAIN THAT OPERATIONS
WILL BE EXCLUSIVELY HUMANITARIAN, IS ASKING SIMULTANEOUSLY
CORRESPONDING CONCOMITANT UNDERTAKINGS FROM THE OTHER BEL-
LIGERENT, I.E.

1) TO RESPECT AND PROTECT ICRC AIRCRAFT AND CREWS FLYING
RELIEF SUPPLIES AT TIMES AND ON ROUTES PREVIOUSLY AGREED
UPON.

2) NOT TO ATTACK AGREED AIRPORT WHEN ICRC AIRCRAFT ARE
STATIONED THERE, AND NOT TO HAVE THOSE AIRPLANES ESCORTED
OR FOLLOWED BY MILITARY AIRCRAFT.

3) NOT TO ENDEAVOUR TO SECURE ANY MILITARY ADVANTAGE WHATSOEVER
FROM RELIEF OPERATIONS.

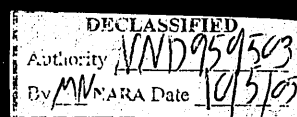
IN VIEW OF URGENCY OF THE SITUATION ICRC WOULD BE
GRATEFUL TO BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT FOR A PROMPT REPLY. END
BIAFRA TEXT.

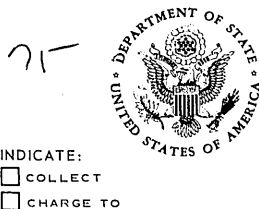
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POC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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B-B

21 Nov 69 00 03z

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

INFO: USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

STATE:

REF: (a) State 193260/ (b) Geneva 4185 NOTAL

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra Relief

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

~~EXDIS~~ EXDIS

1. Unclear from reftel (b) exactly what has been said Geneva with respect to disposition ICRC C-97s and meaning of ~~xxxxxx~~ reference reftel to "stop-gap until additional aircraft could be provided." Per ref (a) we had not anticipated discussion C-97s would go so far. Regret we were unable provide you additional guidance in time for Geneva talks.

2. In light ref (b) believe it desirable you return Geneva in order clarify situation along following lines. USG prepared acquiesce in ~~arrangement~~ ^{undertaken} ~~xxxxxx~~ (to be ~~presented~~ ^{to take} as ICRC action without reference to USG). ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{transfer} ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{retention} ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{status} form of two C-97s ~~xxxxxx~~ to JCA and two in backup/Tel Aviv as per ref (b). However, in view our uncertainty regarding reference to additional aircraft believe you should make clear you discussing

③

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LONDON Page 2

only disposition of ICRC planes and saying nothing regarding prospect of additional C-97s.

3. FOR LAGOS: This FYI only. We do not plan inform Nigerians here of above. Instructions will follow on what to tell FMG in case you queried.

END

[ROGERS]

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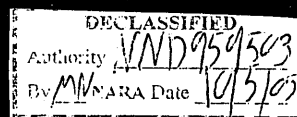
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54.
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

044789

R 211010Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 61

S E C R E T LAGOS 10134

EXDIS

SS PASS LONDON AND PARIS

REF STATE 195055

1. I HAVE REQUESTED APPOINTMENT WITH ARIKPO FOR EARLY NEXT WEEK, PRINCIPALLY TO GO OVER OUR TALKS WITH FRENCH AS REQUESTED RETEL. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW MAIN POINTS COVERED WITH IYALLY, PARTICULARLY WHETHER HE WAS TOLD ANYTHING ABOUT OUR IDEAS ON AFRICAN MEDIATOR, "INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE," AND OFFER OF SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES FOR RELIEF, RESETTLEMENT, AND RECONSTRUCTION (PARA 4 OF LONDON 9211). I WOULD NOT RPT NOT PROPOSE TO GO INTO LATTER UNLESS THESE IDEAS HAVE ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WITH IYALLA.

2. FROM WHAT WE ARE ABLE TO PICK UP HERE IT DOES NOT LOOK AS IF ARIKPO WILL BE GOING TO PARIS IN NEAR FUTURE. ACCORDING TO ENAHORO (EXTAFF) ARIKPO HAD ORIGINALLY THOUGHT OF GOING NEXT WEEK BUT THIS IS NOW DEFINITELY OUT. ENAHORO DOES THINK HE WILL GO BEFORE CHRISTMAS. ON OTHER HAND FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOLD ME YESTERDAY DURING COURTESY CALL THAT HE HAD HEARD NOTHING ABOUT A PARIS TRIP. WHEN I SAID THAT WE HAD RATHER DEFINITE INDICATIONS THAT IT WAS HIS INTENTION TO GO BARBEY REPLIED "C'EST UNE INTENTION PERMANENTE."
GP-2.
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USIA-12 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28

RSR-01 /154 W

046266

P R 211630Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10157

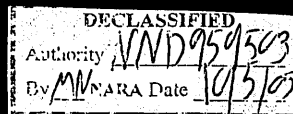
SUBJECT: USG'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ICRC

REF: GENEVA 4167 AND 4168; LAGOS 9963

1. GENEVA REFTELS LEAVE US SOMEWHAT PUZZLED AS TO ATTITUDE US TAKING TOWARD ICRC. WE HAVE BEEN GOING ON ASSUMPTION THAT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS STILL BEST HOPE FOR RELIEF TO BIAFRAN NEEDY. THUS WE HAVE ENCOURAGED BIGNAMI (ICRC) IN HIS EFFORTS PERSUADE FMG REPLACE CLAUSE 6.2 OF SEPTEMBER 13, 1969 AGREEMENT ON RELIEF FLIGHTS BY THE ICRC TO ULI/ITHALA WITH COMMITMENT DESCRIBED PARA 1 OUR 9963, BELIEVING THAT LESS EXCUSE LEFT FOR BIAFRANS TO REJECT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS BETTER THE CHANCE THEY WILL COME TO AGREEMENT. THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 12 EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT DAY FLIGHTS REMAIN ONLY PRACTICABLE SCHEME FOR IMMEDIATE EXPANSION RELIEF; THAT THE ICRC PROPOSAL WAS REASONABLE; THAT FMG ACTED CONSTRUCTIVELY AND IN ACCORD WITH HUMANITARIAN RESPONSIBILITIES; THAT PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS

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MET LEGITIMATE SECURITY CONCERNS OF BIAFRANS; AND
ERNESTLY HOPED BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP RECONSIDER POSITION
ON DAY FLIGHTS.

2. IN LIGHT OF ABOVE, WE NOT SURE WHAT TO MAKE OF
STATEMENT PARA 3 GENEVA 4168 THAT ICRC OUT OF REGULAR
FLIGHT BUSINESS UNLESS IT REPUDIATES NAVILLE-GOWON
AGREEMENT; ASSERTION TO FREYMOND PARA 7 GENEVA 4167
THAT USG FORMULA NOT OPEN END OPTION, DIED WHEN
BIAFRANS REJECTED IT AND WOULD NOT BE MADE AGAIN; AND THRUST
OF PARA 8, GENEVA 4167 WHICH PERHAPS WE ARE MISREADING -
SEEMS PLACE ONUS ON FMG FOR FAILURE ICRC GET AGREEMENT DAY-
FLIGHTS AND TO BE PRESSING ICRC ABANDON EFFORT.

3. BIGNAMI HAS NOW GIVEN US TEXT OF NOTE HE HAS
GIVEN FMG INFORMALLY AND TEXT OF NOTE TO BE GIVEN
BIAFRANS. THESE TRANSMITTED LAGOS 10135 AND ARE AS
SUMMARIZED OUR 9963. AT SAME TIME HE HAS EXPRESSED STRONG
VIEW THAT IF FMG AGREES TO NEW FORMULA, WOULD BE MOST
HELPFUL IF US PREPARED STATE PUBLICLY THAT FMG
AGREEMENT REFLECTS ASSURANCES US RECEIVED EARLIER AND
THAT POSITION NOW TAKEN PUBLICLY SHOULD REMOVE ANY
FURTHER MISUNDERSTANDING BY BIAFRANS. WHILE WE THINK
SUCH ACTION WOULD BE USEFUL, WE MADE NO COMMITMENT
OTHER THAN TO TRANSMIT HIS SUGGESTION. HE IS HOPEFUL
HE WILL GET FMG AGREEMENT. ENAHORO (EXTAFF) TOLD HIM
ST SATURDAY, NOV 15, THAT HE SAW NO PROBLEM BUT DECISION
WOULD HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL COULD SEE ARIKPO (WHO HE BELIEVES
SOLD ON PROPOSAL BY EXTAFF ENAHORO), CHIEF ENAHORO AND
POSSIBLY OMO BARE EARLY NEXT WEEK. SOME FURTHER DELAY
APT DEVELOP SINCE MATTER OF CHANGING CLAUSE 6.2 WILL
PRESUMABLY REQUIRE DECISION BY FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

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CIAE-00 EUR-12 RSR-01 RSC-01 /061 W

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P R 211715Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
SECSTATE WASHDC 3800

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4214

LIMDIS

NOFORN

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

HEAD OF ICELANDIC RED CROSS EXPECTED TO MEET WITH
ICRC AND LICROSS NEXT WEEK TO DISCUSS OFFER OF
AIRPLANES TO SUPPORT ICRC FEEDING PROGRAM
IN BIAFRA.
RYMESTAD

*Geneva 4214
11-21-69*

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ACTION UCF-1

INFO OCT-01 AF-05 IO-04 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 SS-20 NSC-10
INR-06 CIAE-00 PM-03 RSR-01 RSC-01 /052 W
044720

O R 211250Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4336
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 9493

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF - C-97'S
REF: A) SECSTATE 193260; B) GENEVA 4185; C) STATE 195717

1. PER REFTEL A NO COMMITMENTS OR PROMISES MADE JCA OR ICRC RE DISPOSITION C-97'S OR PROVISION ANY ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT. NO VIEWS EXPRESSED AS TO USG POSITION ON EITHER ISSUE OF DISPOSITION OR ON POSSIBLE AUGMENTATION.

2. SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR THAT DISCUSSION WITH ICRC ADDRESSED ONLY CLOSEOUT OF COTONOU C-97 OPERATION. NET RESULT IS THAT, FOR ECONOMY REASONS, FOUR RATHER THAN TWO C-97'S TO BE DEACTIVATED.

3. DISPOSITION THESE AIRCRAFT (ICRC HAS MADE IT CLEAR THIS IS USG DECISION. ICRC DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE UNILATERAL DISPOSITION OF C-97'S TO ANYONE ELSE) IS ENTIRELY SEPARATE ISSUE HINGING ON DEPARTMENT DECISION. PER REFTEL A POSITION DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON THAT ICRC SHOULD DISPOSE OF AIRCRAFT WITH USG CONSENT NOT REPEAT NOT PUT TO ICRC.

4. SUBJECT OF ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT (REFTEL B) AS STATED IN COMMENT MENTIONED ONLY FOR DEPARTMENT IN HOUSE CONSIDERATION, I.E., IF ICRC FLIES AGAIN AND IT BECOMES NECESSARY TO RECONSTITUTE ITS FULL C-97 AIR BRIDGE BY FLYING ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT FROM CONTINENTAL US, THEN WE NEED TO PLAN FOR THIS CONTINGENCY RESERVE AND NOT LET IT GO TO SCRAP PILE. ON OTHER HAND, WE MIGHT TAKE POSITION THAT PLANES FROM COTONOU ARE

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PLACED IN CONTINGENCY RESERVE AT E. G., TEL AVIV, TO BE REACTIVATED AT COTONOU IF ICRC FLIES AGAIN, AND PUT TO GOOD USE IN MEANTIME AS PART OF MAINTENANCE BACKUP FOR JCA OVERHAUL AT TEL AVIV. LATTER SEEMS TO BE REASONABLE COMPROMISE, BUT WOULD, OF COURSE, NEED TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH ICRC AND JCA IF DEPT TAKES THIS VIEW.

5. AS ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION, SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THREE OF FOUR SAO TOME C-97'S BALAIR TOOK OVER FROM FLIGHT TEST RESEARCH ARE IN POOR CONDITION. GERSBACH, BALAIR SAYS ONE (636) NOT ECONOMICALLY REPARABLE (TEL AVIV OVERHAUL ESTIMATE IS \$80,000) AND A SECOND AIRCRAFT IS marginally REPARABLE. FEELS LOGICAL ANSWER (AND MAY SO RECOMMEND TO JCA) IS TO DEACTIVATE 636 AND USE FOR SPARE PARTS AT SAO TOME, AND PERHAPS FLY OTHER POOR CONDITION AIRCRAFT TO TEL AVIV TO CANNIBALIZE THERE. THIS MEANS THAT JCA COULD ABSORB AT LEAST TWO ICRC AIRCRAFT AS REPLACEMENTS FOR TWO WHICH MAY BE DEACTIVATED WHILE STILL MAINTAINING PRESENT OPERATIONAL LEVEL. DEPARTMENT SHOULD BEAR IN MIND IN THIS REGARD THAT JCA HAS NOT RPT NOT PICKED UP ONE C-97 PREVIOUSLY AUTHORIZED.

6. FERGUSON RETURNING GENEVA TUESDAY WILL NOT SCHEDULE APPOINTMENTS PENDING RECEIPT INSTRUCTIONS. ANNENBERG

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 UCF-05 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03
UPW-01 AID-28 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01

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P R 211715Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
SECSTATE WASHDC 3799

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4213

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF

1. CHENARD STATED HE MET WITH BASSET, ICRC, IN EXPECTATION DISCUSSION COORDINATION OF LOGISTICS BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS. BASSET, HOWEVER, INQUIRED CONCERNING JCA NEGOTIATIONS ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. ICRC PROPOSED JOINT JCA/ICRC APPROACH TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. CHENARD INDICATED INTEREST AND INQUIRED ABOUT MEETING WITH NAVILLE AND FREYMOND. JCA HOPES TO MEET TOP OFFICIALS ICRC NEXT WEEK.

2. CHENARD (PLEASE PROTECT) CONFIDED THAT IRISH REPRESENTATIVE NOLAN INDICATED GOI INTERESTED IN GIVING 65 THOUSAND DOLLARS TO JCA. INTERNAL IRISH POLITICAL PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, WRAPPED UP IN SUPPORT TO AFRICA CONCERN. (COMMENT: THIS MOVE SEEMS TO BE PART OF GENERAL IMPATIENCE WITH ICRC INABILITY TO EXTRACT ITSELF FROM ITS INTERNAL ENTANGLEMENT ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA QUESTION.)
RIMESTAD

CONFIDENTIAL

Geneva 4213
11/21/69

0358

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MWA Date 10/5/05

66



CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

195099

POL-27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

10

20 Nov 69 15 17z

INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Relief Survey Biafra

REF: Lagos 10092

Report in process being completed. Soon as available
copy will be transmitted Lagos.

END

ROGERS

(7)

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr. <i>jwf</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11/20/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr. <i>jwf</i>
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CLEARANCES:
AF/SN - Mr. Sherry *Sherry*

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Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0359

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By MVA Date 10/3/05



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TELEGRAM

Pol 27-9 Biafra -
Nigeria
1952/18
08

20 Nov 69 18 51

31

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON

PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy COPENHAGEN

STATE

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON.

1. Dr. Western suggests following points as of possible

~~XXXXXX~~ use in your medical discussions with UNICEF:

(A) UNICEF pre-packaged drug kits for camps and sickbays deserve warm support. Recommend 15 percent bulk allowance to ensure flexibility in the field.

(b) PCM mixture well-accepted. Ifekwunigwe feels ~~marasmus -~~ need to increase caloric content to treat ~~marasmus~~ patients more easily. (Addition of crude palm oil causes clumping. French Red Cross peanut oil satisfactory).

(c) Nasogastric ~~feeding~~ feeding of PCM rarely necessary.

(d) Reconstitution intravenous fluids within Biafra presents almost impossible problems in quality control.]

DRAFTED BY: ~~XXXXXX~~

U/CF: ~~Western/XXXXXX~~

DRAFTING DATE 11/20/69

TEL. EXT. 29002

APPROVED BY: U/CF- John W. Foley

CLEARANCES: ~~XXXXXX~~

U/CF - HBShishkin

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4-68

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Authority VND 954503
By MWA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State
TELEGRAM

INDICATE:
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☐ CHARGE TO

Page 2 of telegram to London, Copenhagen

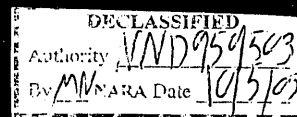
DISTRIBUTION	ACTION:		
	<p>USArmy abandoned similar project in VN. Advise cautious support of small trial project with wait and see attitude.</p> <p>2. Following general observations during survey mission may also be of interest UNICEF:</p> <p>(A) People along major roads are comparatively well fed.</p> <p>(B) While children frequently have first call on rate available food, edema/late in 0-4 age still 42.4 percent.</p> <p>(C) The 45 and older population have highest edema rate (52.1 percent).</p> <p>(D) Western saw hungry soldiers, but none dying of starvation.</p> <p>(E) Current figure for population of Biafra, based on survey, is 3.2 million.</p> <p>(F) While children under 15 comprise almost 60 percent</p>		
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CLEARANCES:			

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4-68

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Classification

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Origin
Info

ACTION:

Page 3 of telegram to London, Copenhagen

of population, survey method undersamples adults.

(G) Major medical need in Biafra is food, particularly protein.

(H) Yellow fever is as much a threat to all West Africa as enclaves. Effective surveillance rather than massive vaccination should be public health approach until cases are documented.

(I) Institutional ^{dysentery} ~~dysentery~~ and hepatitis ^{have} ~~has~~ resulted from breakdown of water supply and sewage disposal. Even in ^{has been} rainy season, water ^{is} ~~is~~ most critical hospital and sickbay need in many areas. ~~Diesel~~ Hand dug wells taking several months. Diesel-powered well-drilling equipment (300 feet) desperately needed.)

(J) Nylon fish nets would multiply their weight in protein along rivers. Catholic priests at Afikpo have had experience with similar project. Suggest UNICEF contact CARITAS for their

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

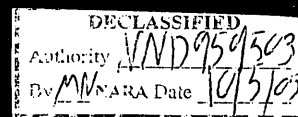
Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Clearances:

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0362



OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin	ACTION:
Info:	Page 4 of telegram to London, XXXX Copenhagen recommendation. xx END

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Clearances:		

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By MVA Date 10/3/05



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Department of State
TELEGRAM

Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
195618

INDICATE:
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31

20 Nov 69 23 15z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS
US Mission GENEVA

Ref: London 9479-

Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

While we do not wish become involved in local controversy, Secretary's November 12 statement did concern assurances directed toward "militarily inviolable airlift", as stated therein. However, beyond making text statement available, any further press inquiries as to substance Foreign Secretary's remarks should be referred to him.

195618

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: *[Signature]* AF/SN:GBSherry:ba
DRAFTING DATE: 11/20/69 TEL. EXT. 23321 APPROVED BY: *WHS*
CLEARANCES: EUR/BMI-Mr. Cheslaw (sub) AF/SN - William H. Brubeck

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4-68

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Authority: VMD 959503
By: MNARA Date: 10/3/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Page 10092

CONFIDENTIAL 450

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10092 201058Z

19
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 RSR-01

RSC-01 /066 W

036996

R 200950Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 35
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10092

SUBJECT: RELIEF SURVEY - BIAFRA

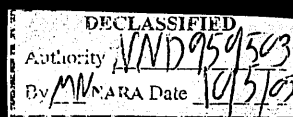
REF: GENEVA'S 4160; LIBREVILLE'S 1082

APPRECIATE COPY OF REPORT - IF ONE PREPARED -
ON BIAFRAN RELIEF SURVEY HEADED BY DEWEY AND REFERRED
TO PARA 2 GENEVA'S 4160 AND PARA 3 LIBREVILLE'S 1082. GP-4
TRUEHEART

①

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0365



37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 014

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04187 201926Z

47
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-10 USIE-00 CIAE-00
CCO-00 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05 INR-06 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01
/053 W

*Geneva 4187
11-20-69*

0 R 201655Z NOV 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3776
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

039825

SECRET GENEVA 4187

LIMDIS

NOFORN

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 2, FIRST LINE)

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF-FRENCH RC AIRLIFT

1. BEER OF LICROSS (PROTECT) INFORMED FERGUSON THAT PRESIDENT FRENCH RED CORSS DISCLOSED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT THERE IS SECRET UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN FRENCH AND FMG THAT FRENCH AIRLIFT WILL NOT BE INCREASED BEYOND PRESENT CAPACITY (2 PLANES) AND THAT NO HOSTILE ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST FRENCH PLANES. SOURCE INDICATED THAT FRENCH INFORMED GOWAN THAT IF ACTION TAKEN AGAINST FRENCH LIFT THERE LIKELY WOULD BE TWO OR THREE AFRICAN RECOGNITIONS OF BIAFRA.

2. WHEN FERGUSON INQUIRED LEBEL RE POINT PARA 1 IN JULY, LEBEL DENIED AGREEMENT BUT MENTIONED THAT UAR PILOTS PERHAPS LAID OFF FRENCH PLANES WHEN THEY HEARD "FRENCH VOICES" CALLING TOWER AT ULI.

3. SOURCE FURTHER INDICATED THAT HALF FRENCH RC AIRLIFT NOW POL.

RIMESTAD

SECRET
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Authority VND 959503
By MWA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 872

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04188 201726Z

42
ACTION: UCF-05INFO: OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 AF-12 RSR-01 RSC-01 /053 W
039212PI 201710Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3777

UNCLAS GENEVA 4188

SUBJECT: FERGUSON SCHEDULE

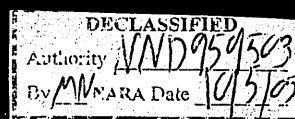
1. FERGUSON ARRIVING LONDON FRIDAY AS SCHEDULED FOR FORN OFF APPOINTMENTS.
2. PLANS LEAVING LONDON SATURDAY (SK 502), ARRIVING COPENHAGEN 1405 HOURS.
3. MONDAY APPOINTMENTS ARRANGED WITH THUNE ANDERSEN/FORN OFF RE ICRC FOUR-MONTH PLAN, AND PASTOR MOLLERUP/JCA.
4. FERGUSON/ POPE ARRIVING WASHINGTON/DULLES TUESDAY 1548 ON TWA 709.
RIMESTAD.

Geneva 4188
11-20-69

UNCLASSIFIED

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 982

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04193 201841Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01 OB-01

BOB-01 TRSY-11 RSR-01 7173 W

039608

P 201825Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3782

SECRET GENEVA 4193

NOFORN

SUBJECT: ICRC REACTION FERGUSON VISIT

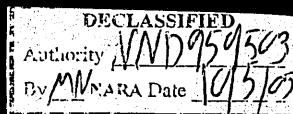
REF: GENEVA 4167

DAVIDSON SHOWN COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT BIGNAMI BY BASSET ICRC-
WHICH STATED THAT USG, ALTHOUGH MAINTAINING HIGH REGARD FOR
R.C., CONSIDERING FINANCING JCA BECAUSE CHURCHES ARE STILL
FLYING. CABLE STATES OJUKWU HAS CONSEQUENTLY GAINED HIS
OBJECTIVE IN SPITE REJECTION NIXON GUARANTEE. BIGNAMI ADVISED
THAT POSSIBLE SHIFT IN USG FINANCING COULD HAVE ADVERSE EFFECT
UPON ICRC AND FMG. CABLE STATES BIGNAMI SHOULD THEREFORE PUSH
FOR APPROVAL FOR TEN DAYS OF MERCY FLIGHTS ASAP. (COMMENT)
ABOVE IS ICRC REACTION TO FERGUSON VISIT WITH HAVILLE AND
FREYMOND REFTEL.
RIMESTAD

SECRET

32

0368



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State ^{XR} SOC 3 RED CROSS
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 981

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04190 201846Z

43
ACTION: UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 AF-12 EUR-20 UPW-01 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01
SR-01 ORM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 OB-01
BOB-01 TRSY-11 RSR-01 167 W

R 201810Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3779

039646

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4190

SUBJ: TERMINATION ICRC C-97'S

REF: GENEVA 4185

ICRC PRESIDENT NAVILLE APPROVED THIS PM
UNDERSTANDING REACHED TODAY WITH U/CF (REFTEL)
CONCERNING TERMINATION COMPLETE C-97 OPERATION
COTONOU.
RIMESTAD

Geneva 4190
11-20-69

(2)

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31

0369

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05

37



POL 279 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 831

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04185 201642Z

41
ACTION UCF-05

INFO: OCT-01 NEA-13 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CCO-00 IO-13

AF-12 EUR-20 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 IH-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 SR-01

ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 OB-01 BOB-01 TRSY-11

RSR-01 /168 W

038887

O R 201615Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3774
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4185

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: ICRC COST REDUCTION

REF: GENEVA 4167

1. AS FOLLOW-UP TO MEETING DESCRIBED REFTEL, DEWEY MET WITH SCHAEGLER, ICRC, THIS A.M. TO REACH AGREEMENT ON COST REDUCTIONS, PARTICULARLY CUT-BACK OF STANDBY AIR FLEET AT COTONOU. COMPLETELY AGREED ON FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES: A. CONTRACT FOR ALL FOUR C-97'S SHOULD BE TERMINATED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE (CONTRACT CALLS FOR 2 WEEK TERMINATION NOTICE TO BALAIR). SAVING APPROXIMATELY \$1 MILLION IN NOV-FEB BUDGET. B. RETENTION TRANSALL, WITH SUPPORTING KINGAIR LIAISON AIRCRAFT, MEETS CONTINGENCY REQUIREMENTS FOR EMERGENCY EVACUATION OF TEAMS IN ENCLAVE, ALSO AIRDROP. C. DISPOSITION OF FOUR C-97'S SHOULD INCLUDE PROVISION FOR RAPID REINSTATEMENT OF AIRLIFT SHOULD DAY FLIGHTS BE POSSIBLE. PROMISING SCHEME SEEMS TO BE POSITIONING 2-3 AIRCRAFT AT TEL AVIV FOR DUAL PURPOSE, I.E., INITIALLY AS MAINTENANCE BACK-UP FOR URGENT JCA OVERHAUL, ADDITIONALLY AS CONTINGENCY RESERVE FOR ICRC. THIS MANAGEABLE NOW SINCE BALAIR IS CONTRACTOR FOR BOTH JCA AND ICRC (COMMENT: DETAILS THIS ARRANGEMENT HINGE ON DEPARTMENT DECISION RE C-97'S. IF DECISION COMMITS ALL OR PART OF COTONOU C-97'S TO JCA AUGMEN-

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By MWA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04185 201642Z

TATION, THEN ICRC'S CONTINGENCY RESERVE IN TEL AVIV WOULD ACT AS A STOP-GAP UNTIL ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT COULD BE PROVIDED.)

2. DISCUSSED IN PRINCIPLE WITH BALAIR PRESIDENT GERSBACH, HE SEES NO COMPLICATIONS IN EARLY TERMINATION AT COTONOU.

3. RE FURTHER ICRC COST REDUCTION IN BIAFRA, SCHAEGLER ADAMANT THAT 64 PEOPLE MINIMUM REQUIRED FOR "JAGGI PROGRAM." WHILE THIS PROGRAM TURNS FOOD DISTRIBUTION OVER TO JCA, IT REPRESENTS SUBSTANTIALLY EXPANDED MEDICAL PROGRAM. HENCE ONLY SLIGHT REDUCTION IN ICRC BIAFRAN STRENGTH.

4. WHEN ASKED IF CONCLUSIONS THIS MEETING REPRESENTED ICRC POLICY, SCHAEGLER SAID HE WOULD INFORM NAVILLE/FREYMOND TODAY OF AGREEMENTS REACHED. BASED ON FREYMOND'S EARLIER AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO CUT BACKS (PARA 5 REFTEL), SCHAEGLER PREDICTED RAPID CONCURRENCE WITH IMPLEMENTING DETAILS.
RIMESTAD

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24

0371

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05

AF - W. Beverly Carter, Jr. :deh
(Drafting Office and Officer)
(12/11/69)

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

Dolphin Square Hotel, London

DATE: November 20, 1969

SUBJECT: Nigeria

PARTICIPANTS: FMG - Mr. Anthony Enahoro - Nigerian Commissioner for
Information and Labor

AF - W. Beverly Carter, Jr. - Deputy Assistant Secretary

COPIES TO: AF - Mr. Newsom
AF/I
AF/SN
U/CF
INR - 10

CIA
DOD
USIA:IAA
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy LAGOS

DEC 20 1969

Commissioner Enahoro had just returned from a week in the United States following his operation and recuperation in London. This was my opportunity to pay a farewell courtesy call before coming to Washington and taking up my new assignment.

The Commissioner said his two months away from Lagos had given him not only the opportunity for physical restoration but had provided the time to think about Nigeria and its problems in a way not possible while serving in Lagos.

The Commissioner apparently was called on by a number of Nigerians transiting London and remained in touch with certain of his colleagues in Lagos during this period.

Enahoro said that he proposes to present the following plan to General Gowon: If the military cannot conclude the war successfully within a reasonable period of time (read two to three months) that the FMG should proceed to cordon off the enclave; call a constitutional convention; relax import restrictions and generally return to as much normalcy as possible while attempting to snuff out or ignore the rebellion.

FORM DS-1254
5-61

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By MNA Date 10/5/05

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-2-

Enahoro says that it's important to move on such a plan as Nigeria is growing tired of the war and perhaps even more importantly, demonstrate what form the permanent government will be so the Ibos will see what they are being asked to return to in the future. He believes the constitutional convention will, among other things, establish permanent borders for the states, create two states out of the existing Western State and probably divide the East Central State so that one capital will include Onitsha and the west side of the Niger River nipping off a part of the Mid-West State and the other capital to be located at Nwei.

Enahoro believes the country is ready for such a move and suggests that he has already obtained the support of the coalition (including Amino Kano, Joe Tarka, Femi Okunnu).

Enahoro feels so strongly about this that he says he is prepared to submit it for the consideration of Gowon, the Supreme Military Council and the Federal Executive Council, and should it not be accepted he is prepared to submit his resignation and take the case for his proposal to the people. Apparently his timetable is that he will cover the Ministry of Education while Commissioner Briggs is on leave for the next two months and then be prepared to step down upon Brigg's return, if the plan is rejected.

Enahoro recognizes the Military may not buy his proposal and that he may be in some personal jeopardy if the Military rejects it, and he insists upon going to the country in its behalf. He feels, however, this is a risk he must take both for the good of Nigeria and in terms of his own personal ambitions. The Commissioner feels his own attractiveness to the Nigerian Electorate will be substantial if he steps down now and two or three years later he can cite what he attempted to do in correcting a problem which seems to excite more and more attention throughout the Federation.

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0373

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By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

21

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09479 201831Z

47
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCQ-04 SCA-01 RSR-01 /153 W
039562

P 201725Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4323
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LONDON 9479

1. NOV. 20 GUARDIAN EDITORIAL UNDER HEADLINE "MR. STEWART WAS STILL MISLEADING" BRINGS FOLLOWING FOCUS: "BUT THE APOLOGY COVERS ONLY HALF DISTORTION OF WHICH MR. STEWART WAS GUILTY ON MONDY--AND THE LESS IMPORTANT HALF. FEDERAL "ASSURANCE" TRANSMITTED TO OUUKWU THROUGH UNITED STATES CONCERNED ONLY SAFETY OF RELIEF FLIGHTS--NOT THE AIRFIELD ON WHICH BIAFRA DEPENDS FOR ARMS. AS DESCRIBED IN AMERICAN STATEMENT, FEDERAL ASSURANCE SPECIFICALLY REFERS TO ACTION AGAINST ICRC RELIEF AIRCRAFT, AND SAYS NOTHING WHATEVER ABOUT AIRFIELD. IT WAS ON SAFETY OF AIRFIELD THAT OUUKWU HAD SOUGHT THIRD PARTY GUARANTEE. HE DID NOT GET IT, AND FOR MR. STEWART TO SUGGEST THAT HE DID WAS--AND REMAINS--GROSSLY MISLEADING."

2. DEPT MAY WISH PREPARE APPROPRIATE GUIDANCE FOR POSSIBLE PRESS QUERIES.
ANNENBERG

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0374

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Authority VND 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

*London-9479
11-26-69*

AF N. Beverly Carter, Jr.

POL/EX/A:JWWalker:km:deh LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

(Drafting Room and Officer)

(12/2/69)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: November 20, 1969
Amembassy LONDON

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra

7 DEC 1969

PARTICIPANTS: Auberon Waugh - Writer of Political Commentary
for Spectator
W. Beverly Carter, Jr. - Deputy Assistant Secretary
of State for African Affairs
Julius W. Walker, Jr. - Political Officer, Amembassy London

COPIES TO:

USIA	- Mr. Frank Shakespeare,	AF/SN (cc)
	Director, USIA (cc)	Amembassy LAGOS
USIA/IAA	- Mr. John Reinhardt	USIS LAGOS
U/CF	- Amb. C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr. (cc)	Amembassy LONDON
AF	- Amb. Newsom	USIS LONDON

This conversation was wide ranging, occupied over two hours and no notes were taken. Hence this memorandum deals mainly with topics and impressions and is not intended to be a detailed record.

Mr. Carter made clear at the outset that no remarks were to be attributable to him or to USG sources and that anything which Mr. Waugh wrote from the conversation would have to be on a "deep background basis." Mr. Waugh readily agreed to this saying that all he wanted was a discussion on Biafra with a knowledgeable American official. Mr. Carter explained he was meeting Mr. Waugh at the request of USIA Director Frank Shakespeare. Mr. Waugh appreciated this and expressed his regret at being unable to talk to Ambassador William Trueheart when he transitted London some weeks ago.

Mr. Waugh seemed interested in transmitting his idea that the United States, in relying on British advice, was backing a loser in Nigeria. He was certain Biafra will never give up and that eventually some sort of independent arrangement must be made for the Ojukwu regime. He posed two direct questions to Mr. Carter. The first was how long will Gowon last as Head of the Federal Military Government and the second, when does the USG believe the FMG will be able to conquer Biafra? In reply to the first

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By M. NARA Date 10/5/05

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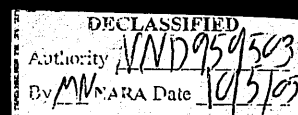
question, Mr. Carter expressed his belief that Gowon was secure in his position for the immediate future and possibly for a great deal longer. On the second question he said he knew of no timetable for FMG military victory over Biafra but he was convinced it would happen unless a peace is negotiated first.

The conversation took many turns. For awhile Mr. Waugh wished to discuss the war on a pragmatic basis. At this juncture he attempted to show that British Government (and the US) are not practical in their assessment of their policy toward Nigeria. He then switched the conversation to the moral issues and at this juncture seemed convinced that only Ojukwu had a moral approach to the war. It appeared clear to both Americans that Mr. Waugh is so committed to the Biafran cause that he is incapable of viewing the issue other than emotionally. He repeated twice his overwhelming desire to "get Michael Stewart" and he dismissed with a brush of the hand the capabilities of those officials both in HMG and the USG who have had a hand in forming Nigerian policy.

In spite of the fact that neither side was able to convert the other (indeed we had no hope of convincing Mr. Waugh before the discussion began) it seemed to Mr. Carter and this writer the discussion had been a success in that it provided for a free flow of ideas and an expression of interest. In particular Mr. Waugh seemed to appreciate the conversation.

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 196

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01

CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 RSR-01 /088 W
----- 031315

R 191415Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
SECSTATE WASHDC 26
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T LAGOS 10068

REF: KINSHASA 6152 *ne*

UK HIGH COMMISSIONER HAS BEEN INFORMED BY FOREIGN
MINISTER ARIKPO THAT GOWON ASKED MOBUTU FOR ARVI NOT
RPT NOT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AS ADOULA INFORMED AMB.
VANCE. WE DO NOT RPT NOT SUGGEST CORRECTING ADOULA,
BUT WE INCLINED TO TAKE ARIKPO'S WORD SINCE NIGERIAN
ECONOMY IS NOT YET IN THE KIND OF NEED FOR FINANCIAL
ASSISTANCE THAT WOULD LEAD GOWON TO REQUEST SUCH
ASSISTANCE FROM GOC WHERE IT UNLIKELY BE FORTHCOMING. GP-3
TRUEHEART

SECRET

0377

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Authority VND 959503
By MNA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
XR Soc 3 Red Cross
Department of State
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 069

PAGE 01 DAKAR 03414 191311Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCA-01 SCS-04
UPW-01 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 IH-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01
/160 W

R 191029Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4989
USMISSION GENEVA

030650

CONFIDENTIAL I A L DAKAR 3414

REF DAKAR 3396 AND LAGOS 10037

SUBJ: DABNEY MISSION

DABNEY MISSION IS CONNECTED WITH RELIEF MEASURES NOT PEACE
MOVES. BELIEVE RELIEF CONCERNED WITH FMG CONTROLLED AREAS NOT
BIAFRA, ALTHOUGH DABNEY'S POINT WAS THAT FOLLOWING END OF HOST-
ILITIES RED CROSS WILL HAVE TO SERVICE RELIEF IN WHOLE
COUNTRY. DABNEY SAYS THAT ALTHOUGH FMG HAS THUS FAR REFUSED TO LET
NIGERIAN RED CROSS COORDINATE RELIEF ACTIVITIES, FMG CANNOT
IGNORE COMBINED APPEAL BY AFRICAN RED CROSS SOCIETIES. PER-
HAPS GENEVA WILL BE ABLE SUPPLY FURTHER BACKGROUND.
LUKENS

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By MWA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09432 191716Z

42
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

UCF-05 RSR-01 /122 W

032020

P R 191547Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4295
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LONDON 9432

SUBJECT: BRITISH FONSECUTY'S REMARKS ON US POLICY

REF: SECSTATE 193616 *Pol 27-9 B-4*

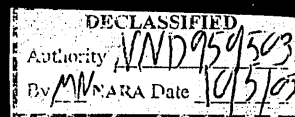
1. CONSERVATIVE MP, HUGH FRASER, BROUGHT POINT OF ORDER IN 18 NOV. PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE CONCERNING REMARKS MADE DAY BEFORE BY FONSECUTY STEWART TO EXTENT US HAD GUARANTEED THAT NO MILITARY RISK WOULD BE INVOLVED IN DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRA. HANSARD ACCOUNT OF STEWART'S REPLY FOLLOWS: QUOTE: SINCE MATTER HAS BEEN RAISED I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT I HAVE NEVER BEEN UNWILLING TO INFORM HOUSE OF WHAT USG BOTH SAID AND DID. WHAT HAPPENED WAS THAT COL. OJUKWU ASKED FOR THIRD PARTY ASSURANCES AS TO GOOD FAITH OF NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IN RESPECT OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. GOVERNMENT OF US ACCORDINGLY SOUGHT AND RECEIVED SOLEMN ASSURANCE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA THAT IT WOULD ENSURE THAT NO HOSTILE MILITARY ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN. US SHOWED ITS CONVICTION OF VALIDITY OF THESE ASSURANCES BY ARRANGING THAT AMB. FERGUSON WENT TO WEST AFRICA TO GIVE BIAFRANS SPECIFIC PLEDGE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA ON THIS MATTER. THIS PUT PRESTIGE AND FAITH OF US BEHIND ASSURANCES WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN.

FURTHER, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THIS OTHER GOVERNMENTS,

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 0943Z 191716Z

AFTER CONSULTATION WITH US, AGREED TO OFFER IMPARTIAL OBSERVERS TO ACCOMPANY RED CROSS AIRCRAFT ON THEIR RELIEF FLIGHTS. SECRETARY OF STATE OF US FURTHER SAID: "WE BELIEVE THAT PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS MEET IN REASONABLE MANNER LEGITIMATE SECURITY CONCERNS OF THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES." IN LIGHT OF ALL THIS I USED THE WORD "GUARANTEE", WHICH I THINK IS WORRYING THE RIGHT HON. GENTLEMAN. IF THAT WORD MISLED ANYONE I AM SORRY. IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT INTENDED TO MISLEAD NOR, INDEED, COULD IT HAVE DONE SO, BECAUSE, CONTRARY TO WHAT RIGHT HON. GENTLEMAN HAS SAID, THIS WAS NOT NEW INFORMATION.

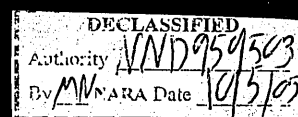
THE STATEMENTS MADE BY US SECRETARY OF STATE TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED WERE MADE PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE LAST WEEK AND, PRESUMABLY, WERE KNOWN TO THOSE HON. MEMBERS WHO FOLLOW THESE MATTERS. IF ANY OF THEM HAD FELT THAT I MISLEADINGLY HAD DESCRIBED THEM THEY COULD HAVE RAISED THE MATTER AT THE TIME AND I WOULD HAVE SOUGHT BY ANY CORRECTION OF WORDS THAT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO MAKE QUITE CLEAR WHAT THEY DID SAY. UNQUOTE. SPEAKER FORECLOSED ANY FURTHER DEBATE THIS ISSUE.

2. COMMENT: UK PRESS REACTION HAS BEEN LOW-KEY AND ACCURATE REPORTING OF STEWART'S REPLY. AT NO TIME HAS THERE BEEN ANY SUGGESTION THAT STEWART'S STATEMENT WAS A PRODUCT OF US/UK CONSULTATION. IT WAS ISSUED AND ACCEPTED AS HMG INDEPENDENT STATEMENT.
ANNENBERG

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Pol 279 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State

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PAGE 01 THE HA 04474 200851Z

19
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 IH-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 UCF-05 AID-28

RSR-01 ACDA-18 MC-02 /180 W 036312

R 190815Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4780
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE THE HAGUE 4474

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF --- ALLEGATION OF GUN-RUNNING ON
ICRC AIRCRAFT

REF: THE HAGUE 4439

FURTHER SEARCH PRODUCED STORY IN OCTOBER 8 ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD
BY H. SURENDONK, BASED ON INTERVIEW WITH MENDEZ OUTSIDE
BIAFRA (WE ASSUME IN NETHERLANDS). MENDEZ' CHARGES ON ARMS
TRAFFICKING VARY ONLY SLIGHTLY FROM THOSE IN INTERVIEW REPORTED
REFTEL. DETAILS FOLLOW BY AIRGRAM.
DECON 11/19/70.
MIDDENDORF

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*The Hague - 4474
11-19-69*



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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04168 191937Z

42
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

AID-28 EUR-20 ORM-03 SR-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 E-15 AGR-20

RSR-01 /188 W

032704

R 191645Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3762
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

CONFIDENTIAL L GENEVA 4168

SUBJECT: FERGUSON-JCA MEETING IN GENEVA

1. JEAN CHENARD OF JCA INTERNATIONAL SPENT 90 MINUTES WEDNESDAY WITH FERGUSON AND STAFF FOR TOUR D'HORIZON OF RELIEF SITUATION. CHENARD'S WANTS ARE FEW BUT NOT SIMPLE --- MORE PLANES, PREFERABLY HERCULES; BLOCK GRANTS TO JCA, AND MORE U.S.-PURCHASED ICELANDIC STOCKFISH. FERGUSON LISTENED, EXPLAINED DIFFICULTIES, AND MADE NO PROMISES OR COMMITMENTS. (END SUMMARY)

2. CHENARD PLANNING TO MEET WITH ICRC IN AFTERNOON BUT HAD NO IDEA OF AGENDA. REPORTED JCA HAS NOT BILLED ICRC FOR THE SUPPLIES IT GETS IN BIAFRA, BUT ESTIMATES BILL NOW AT 750,000 DOLS. CHENARD OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT EXPENSE AND WONDERED "WHERE CHARITY BEGINS AND WHERE CHARITY ENDS."

3. FERGUSON REMARKED "QUITE CLEAR ICRC OUT OF FLYING BUSINESS AS REGULAR OPERATION UNLESS THEY REPUDIATE NAVILLE-GOWAN AGREEMENT." FELT THIS UNLIKELY, BUT ICRC WILL BEND EVERY EFFORT TO MAINTAIN PRESENCE IN BIAFRA. ICRC PROBLEM, HE ADDED, "STILL IS HOW TO GET TO JULI."

4. FERGUSON SAID ICRC WANTS TO KEEP AT LEAST TWO C-97'S AT

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05



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COTONOU, AND TOLD CHENARD IF ICRC GAVE OTHER TWO C-97'S TO JCA THIS: "PROBABLY WOULD NOT RAISE PROBLEMS WITH U.S."

5. CHENARD ASKED IF JCA COULD GET BLOCK GRANTS SIMILAR TO THOSE U.S. GAVE ICRC. SUGGESTED 10 MILLION DOLS AS STARTER. "I DON'T KNOW IF 10 MILLION DOLS WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE OPENING FIGURE." FERGUSON REPLIED, POINTING OUT JCA'S CONSORTIUM STRUCTURE (ABSENCE OF JURIDICAL PERSON) "MAKES BLOCK GRANTS OUT OF QUESTION AT PRESENT TIME."

6. CHENARD SAID HE HOPES TO HAVE INCORPORATION STATUTES FOR JCA COMPLETED BEFORE CONSORTIUM MEETS NEXT MONTH IN OSLO. FELT THIS MIGHT OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES POSED BY PRESENT STRUCTURE.

7. CHENARD SAID HE HEARD RUMOR U.S. MIGHT MAKE SOME HERCULES PLANES AVAILABLE TO JCA AND ASKED "HOW SOON WILL THEY BE DELIVERED?"

8. NO PROSPECT OF U.S. HERCULES BECOMING AVAILABLE, FERGUSON REPLIED, EXPLAINING BASIC U.S. POSITION THAT ONLY AMERICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL COULD USE THESE PLANES. RECALLED, HOWEVER, CANADIANS HAVE INDICATED THEIR HERCULES MIGHT BE USED IF TWO SIDES REACHED AGREEMENT ON RELIEF PROPOSAL.

9. FERGUSON TOLD CHENARD ADDITIONAL U.S. PURCHASES OF ICELANDIC STOCKFISH DEPENDED ON A NUMBER OF FACTORS, INCLUDING ICELAND'S ECONOMY. THUS, DECISION WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

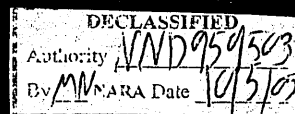
10. CHENARD SAID JCA ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTY WITH ICRC OVER SOME STOCKS IN COTONOU UNICEF TURNED OVER TO JCA. ICRC INFORMED JCA BIGNAMI HAD REQUESTED THESE UNICEF STOCKS FOR LAGOS. FERGUSON SAID THIS "APPROPRIATE MATTER" FOR JCA TO RAISE WITH ICRC, SINCE UNICEF IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR STOCKS "AND ITS DECISION HAS TO BE RESPECTED."

11. CHENARD SUGGESTED THAT INCLUSION OF POLITICAL SANCTION, I.E., THREAT TO RECOGNIZE BIAFRA, WOULD MAKE ICRC DAYLIGHT PLAN MORE ACCEPTABLE TO BIAFRANS. FERGUSON RULES THIS OUT, AND SAID OJUKWU'S STATEMENT ON CROSS RIVER WAS ATTEMPT TO REFURBISH AN IMAGE BADLY DAMAGED BY REJECTION OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

12. FERGUSON SAID DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS OUT OF QUESTION BECAUSE OF

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 04168 191937Z

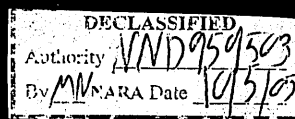
BASIC DECISION IN OWERRI THAT TOP PRIORITY AT ULI IS MILITARY, NOT FOOD AND MEDICINE. SAID JCA DISCUSSIONS ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS "HELPED GENERAL SITUATION BY INDICATING WILLINGNESS TO RAISE WHOLE ISSUE OF 'LEGALIZATION' OF JCA OPERATION."

13. CHENARD SAID LAGOS HAS NOT RESPONDED TO JCA REQUEST TO TRANSPORT 2,000 TONS A WEEK TO ULI IN DAYLIGHT OPERATION. NO WORD FROM BIAFRA ON JCA PROPOSAL. RIMESTAD

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCSE-00 SCA-01 AID-28

RSR-01 /156 W

031844

R 191510Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 027
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

UNCLAS LAGOS 10073

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP NOVEMBER 19

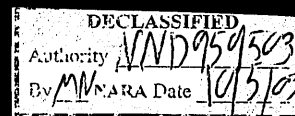
1. EXPRESS HEADLINES REPORT THAT FMG TROOPS OF THIRD DIVISION
HAVE ADVANCED TO WITHIN SEVEN MILES OF OWERRI WHICH IT
DESCRIBES AS NOW WITHIN ARTILLERY
RANGE OF FMG GUNS. ALSO
REPORTS CAPTURE OF TOWN OF OSUSU IN EAST-CENTRAL STATE.

2. POST, OBSERVER AND SKETCH REPORT THAT COMEXTAFF ARIKPO
SAID IN NAIROBI, ENROUTE BACK TO LAGOS FROM ADDIS ABABA, THAT
FMG LEAVING ITSELF OPTION OF SETTLING CIVIL WAR WITH REBELS
ON BATTLEFIELD OR AROUND CONFERENCE TABLE. SAID HE HAD
DELIVERED GOWON'S REPLY TO MESSAGE FROM HIM EARLIER BROUGHT
TO LAGOS BY ETHIOPIAN FM KETEMA. REPEATED FMG'S AIM AS
REINTEGRATION OF ALL IBOS INTO NIGERIA, OFFERING EQUAL

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OPPORTUNITY TO ALL. ALSO REPORTEDLY SAID OFFER OF GENERAL AMNESTY FOR SECESSIONISTS STILL STOOD.

3. SKETCH REPORTS MICHAEL STEWART'S STATEMENTS IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT NOV 17 DEFENDING HMG'S SUPPLY OF ARMS TO FMG. SKETCH ALSO REPORTS THAT NOV 18 BRITISH NEWSPAPERS DAILY TELEGRAPH AND SCOTSMAN BOTH PLACED BLAME ON OJUKWU FOR REFUSING DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. POST REPORTS CANADIAN PM TRUDEAU'S STATEMENT TO CANADIAN PARLIAMENT WHICH ACCUSED OJUKWU OF "COOKING UP" REASON FOR NOT ACCEPTING DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

4. POST, PILOT AND TIMES REPORT FIRST DAY OF MEETING OF RECONSTITUTED NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR REHABILITATION WAS ADDRESSED BY FMG COMMISSIONER FOR REHAB OMO-BARE. OMO-BARE REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF COMMISSION AND SUGGESTED ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER WAYS OF EASING PROBLEM. ALSO SAID IT TIME FOR COMMISSION TO EMBARK ON WORLD-WIDE APPEAL FOR HELP BY HAVING DELEGATION VISIT FRIENDLY COUNTRIES. TIMES AND PILOT (BUT NOT POST) REPORT THAT HE ALSO SAID AMONG OTHER DIFFICULTIES OF COMMISSION HAD BEEN " STUMBLING BLOCKS PUT IN OUR WAY DELIBERATELY BY ICRC AUTHORITY AND UNFORTUNATELY THEY WERE AIDED IN SOME RESPECTS BY SOME OF OUR OWN NIGERIAN RELIEF BODIES", ADDING HOWEVER THAT THEY HAD BECOME MORE COOPERATIVE LATELY. PILOT REPORTS HE ALSO EXPRESSED COMMISSION'S GRATITUDE TO USG, HMG, CANADA AND RELIEF AGENCIES WHO HAD HELPED IN VARIOUS WAYS TO SOLVE SOME OF REHABILITATION PROBLEMS.. TRUEHEART

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By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05



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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 UCF-05 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 IGA-02 EUR-20

RSR-01 /092 W

032431

R 191600Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 28
USMISSION GENEVA
INFO AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10075

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - ROBARDS HELICOPTER PLAN

REF: GENEVA 4142

JOINT EMBASSY/AID MESSAGE:

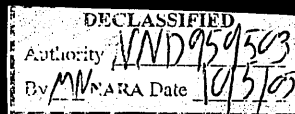
1. DURING VISIT OCTOBER 21-25 TO SOUTH EASTERN STATE, AID REPRESENTATIVE TOLD UNOFFICIALLY THAT OGON HAD RECENTLY RECEIVED CABLE FROM ROBARDS ASKING HOW MANY HELICOPTERS COULD BE USED BY S.E. STATE IN RELIEF/REHAB PROGRAM. OGON'S NOVEMBER 8 CABLE APPEARS TO BE RESPONSE TO ROBARDS INQUIRY.

2. LAST JUNE WHEN UNICEF SUPPORTED HELICOPTER OPERATION DISCONTINUED, OGON WORKED HAND IN GLOVE WITH ROBARDS IN LOBBYING FOR CONTINUATION "GOD-SENT AND INDISPENSABLE" OPERATION. NO RELIEF AGENCY WAS PREPARED AT THAT TIME TO FINANCE EXPENSIVE CHOPER OPERATION WHICH NOT REGARDED AS ESSENTIAL. WE SHARED AGENCIES' JUDGEMENT AT THE TIME AND CONTINUE TO FEEL CHOPPER LIFT NOT NECESSARY IN SOUTH EASTERN STATE. THIS JUDGEMENT BASED ON FINDINGS OF AID OFFICERS WHO TRAVELLED EXTENSIVELY IN STATE RECENTLY. AID SURVEY GROUP BELIEVES THERE ARE NO AREAS REQUIRING RELIEF IN STATE WHICH ACCESSIBLE ONLY BY HELICOPTER. ROAD NETWORK ON MAINLAND IS EXTENSIVE. VINNELL TECHNICIANS ASSISTING IN RELIEF VEHICLE MAINTENANCE AND ADEQUATE

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FOOD BEING DISTRIBUTED IN ALL ACCESSIBLE RELIEF AREAS.
IN CERTAIN AREAS AND BORDER POCKETS MILITARY SITUATION
PRECLUDES RELIEF ACTIVITIES BUT WE DOUBT MILITARY AUTHORITIES
WOULD LIFT RESTRICTIONS FOR HELICOPTERS.

3. STATE GOVERNMENTS NOT RPT NOT AUTHORIZED SEEK OUTSIDE
ASSISTANCE EXCEPT THROUGH FMG. WE HAVE NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY
APPRISED BY NATIONAL REHABILITATION COMMISSION OR MED OF
NEED FOR HELICOPTERS AND DO NOT PLAN RAISE SUBJECT WITH OGON IN
ABSENCE FORMAL FMG APPROACH. GP-4.

TRUEHEART

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04167 191909Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 OB-01

BOB-01 TRSY-11 RSR-01 /173 W

032617

PER 191600Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3761
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USUN NEW YORK 3913

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4167

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT PARA. 2)

REF: GENEVA 4160

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF-ICRC

1. SUMMARY. IN FERGUSON MEETING WITH NAVILLE, FREYMOND YESTERDAY, DISCUSSION CENTERED ON FOLLOW-UP FREYMOND APOLOGIA TO HAGUE GP FOR ICRC RELIEF IMPASSE; MENTION OF VAGUELY CONCEIVED 4 MONTH, \$1 MILLION/MONTH PLAN; USUAL ICRC PROMISES OF PAST BUDGET STATEMENTS WHILE CERTAIN NON-REVEALING BUDGET FIGURES WERE FINALLY FURNISHED; AND FERGUSON PUTTING ICRC ON NOTICE THAT USG IN PROCESS REACHING ITS OWN BUDGET DECISIONS WITH POSSIBLE DIVERSION RELIEF SUPPORT TO AGENCIES IN CENTER OF RELIEF ACTION. POINT NOT LOST ON NAVILLE/FREYMOND, THOUGH THEY NOTED OTHER COMMITTEE MEMBERS STILL LIVING IN FOOL'S PARADISE, THINKG THEIR HIGH OVERHEAD, NO ACTION OPERATION COULD BE CONTINUED INDEFINITELY. FREYMOND NOTED ISSUE WHICH WOULD BRING COMMITTEE TO "CONTINUE AS USUAL" OR "GET OUT" DECISION WOULD BE

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CUT-OFF OF USG FUNDING. END SUMMARY.

2. FERGUSON, ACCOMPANIED BY DEWEY AND DAVIDSON, HAD TWO-HOUR SESSION YESTERDAY WITH ICRC PRESIDENT NAVILLE AND FREYMOND. BASSETT, ICRC CHIEF ADMIN OFFICER, ALSO ATTENDED. FREYMOND OPENED WITH REHASH OF HIS A.M. STATEMENT TO HAGUE GP. ASKED HOW GROUP HAD RECEIVED IT SINCE HIS SCHEDULED LECTURE AT HIS INSTITUTE TOOK PRECEDENCE OVER REMAINING FOR DISCUSSION PERIOD. FERGUSON SAID IT WAS RECEIVED SKEPTICALLY IN SOME QUARTERS, PARTICULARLY SCANS WHO HAD COMPETING CHURCH PRESSURES FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT. ALSO MENTIONED HUYDECOPER'S CONCERN OVER FREYMOND'S REVOLUTIONARY INTERPRETATION OF GENEVA CONVENTION, ART 23. FREYMOND SAID THAT WAS PREDICTABLE HUYDECOPER REACTION.

3. FREYMOND THEN DESCRIBED VAGUELY CONCEIVED 4 MONTH, \$1 MILLION/MONTH ICRC PLAN (PARA 5, REFTEL) WHEREIN NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES WOULD DELIVER TO ULI, ICRC WOULD DISTRIBUTE. EXPRESSED HOPE THAT USG WOULD MAKE ITS USUAL APPROX 50 PCT CONTRIBUTION TO THIS BUDGET. (COMMENT: ICRC HAS NO IDEA WHERE SOCIETIES WILL BASE FLIGHTS, PARTICULARLY AFTER U/CF NOTED SAO TOME AND LIBREVILLE ARE SATURATED. ALSO NO SPECIFIC COMMITMENT FROM ANY SOCIETY TO DO THIS, OR EVEN ELEMENTARY COORDINATION WITH KEY TO THIS SCHEME-LICROSS.)

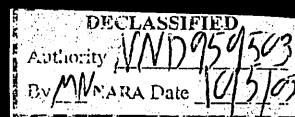
4. FERGUSON NOTED THAT USG MUST EXAMINE IDEA IN GREATER DETAIL BEFORE TAKING POSITION. POINTED OUT USG IN PROCESS MAKING ITS OWN BUDGET DECISIONS ON FUTURE RELIEF SUPPORT, EXPECTED PERSUASIVE PRESSURES FROM JCA TO DIVERT FUNDS TO WHERE ACTION IS. FREYMOND GOT POINT, NOTED "THIS IS MOST IMPORTANT THING SAID ALL AFTERNOON." THEN REBUTTED WITH STATEMENT THAT DONOR COUNTRIES, INCL US, HAD LED ICRC INTO THIS, AND IT SHOULD STILL BE IN THEIRSELF-INTEREST TO MAINTAIN AT LEAST SYMBOLIC ICRC PRESENCE IN NIGERIA-BIAFRA.

5. FERGUSON-DEWEY THEN HIT AT HIGH COST MAINTAINING THIS PRESENCE IN ESSENTIALLY INACTIVE STATUS. THOUGH OVER \$1 MILLION/MONTH COTONOU AIR STANDBY COST NOW CUT BACK TO APPROX \$260,000/MONTH, THIS STILL APPEARS EXCESSIVE. OBJECTIVE IS READINESS SHOULD BREAK COME. THIS POSSIBLE

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BY KEEPING TRANSALL (AS SAFETY FACTOR, AS WELL, FOR EMERGENCY EVAC ICRC TEAMS IN ENCLAVE), PUTTING 2-3 C-97'S IN MOTHBALLS AT COTONOU. ALSO, WHY REDUCE STAFF BY ONE ONE QUARTER WHEN WORKLOAD IS REDUCED BY AT LEAST THREE QUARTERS? FREYMOND SAID THESE WERE LEGITIMATE POINTS, ASKED DEWEY TO PUT CASE TO SCHAEGLER.

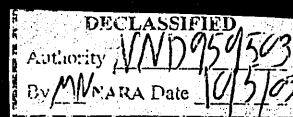
6. RE LSM COSTS, FERGUSON SAID WE NEEDED TO TAKE HARD LOOK AT ICRC ASSERTION THAT CONTRACT NECESSITATED EXPENDITURES OUTSIDE ICRC BUDGET (THERE ARE OFFSETS, I.E., CANCELLATION COASTER CONTRACTS, NO FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU, SALE OF FERNANDO PO DC-7'S, ETC.). WHEN PRESSED FOR FINANCIAL DETAILS, GOT THREE DIFFERENT ANSWERS FROM NAVILLE, FREYMOND AND BASSETT. RESULTED IN CONTINUOUS STREAM OF AIDES BRINGING IN PILES OF FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS. U/CF ASKED IF WE COULD GET ON DISTRIBUTION FOR SOME OF THESE DOCUMENTS. FREYMOND REPLIED "YOU KNOW, THIS IS VERY BIG PROBLEM." FERGUSON STATED THAT USG COULD NOT REACT WITHOUT ADEQUATE BUDGET OPERATIONAL INFO, AND THAT COST EFFICIENCY WOULD CERTAINLY PLAY LARGE ROLE IN DETERMINATION OF USG SUPPORT.

7. NAVILLE THEN PRODUCED ICRC GUARANTEE FORMULA WHICH BIGNAMI IS DIRECTED TO FLOAT IN LAGOS. ESSENTIALLY, IT ASKED LAGOS TO WITHDRAW ITS "WITHOUT PREJUDICE" CLAUSE, ALSO TO EXTEND SANCTUARY TO ULI AIRFIELD "AS WELL AS AIRCRAFT) DURING CONDUCT RELIEF ACTIVITIES. SIMILAR FORMULA PREPARED FOR BIAFRA, THOUGH DEWEY NOTED IT OMITTED REQUEST TO WITHDRAW BIAFRA'S PARALLEL "WITHOUT PREJUDICE" CLAUSE. NAVILLE SAID THIS SHOULD DEFINITELY BE ADDED, WOULD TRY TO COMMUNICATE IT TO OBI. HE ADDED "BUT IF USG GUARANTEE NOT SUFFICIENT, THEN CERTAINLY ICRC FORMULA HAS NO CHANCE." FERGUSON INFORMED NAVILLE AND FREYMOND THAT USG FORMULA WAS NOT OPEN END OPTION. "IT DIED WHEN BIAFRANS REJECTED IT AND WOULD NOT BE MADE AGAIN."

8. AT CONCLUSION, U/CF PUT DIRECT QUESTION AS TO HOW LONG DIALOGUE WOULD DRAG ON IN LAGOS, I.E., IS THERE DEADLINE BY WHICH ICRC WILL MAKE DEFINITIVE DECISION IF NO PROGRESS EVIDENT ON DAY FLIGHTS. ANSWER WAS "NO, WE PLAN TO CONTINUE INDEFINITELY, ONLY THING THAT WILL CUT US OFF IS CUT-OFF OF FUNDS. COMMITTEE, HOWEVER,

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STILL NOT READY TO ACCEPT THIS LOGICAL CONCLUSION."
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ACTION: AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CCO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03

SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 RSR-01 /148 W

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O R 181810Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3753
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION BERLIN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMCONSUL LUANDA
USUN NEW YORK 3911

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4160

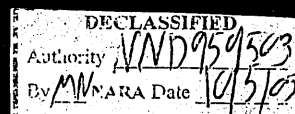
SUBJECT: HAGUE GROUP MEETING IN GENEVA

1. SUMMARY. HAGUE GROUP (BELGIUM ABSENT) MET IN GENEVA TUESDAY
TO TAKE STOCK OF PRESENT SITUATION. NO DEFINITIVE PROPOSALS
PUT BEFORE GROUP AND NO DEFINITIVE ACTION TAKEN. THERE WAS

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SOME INTEREST IN ITALIAN PROPOSAL THAT GROUP BACK A CHRISTMAS TRUCE BUT SWEDISH REPORT ON NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO IVORY COAST INITIATIVE AT UNITED NATIONS ON THIS TOPIC TOOK THE STEAM OUT OF THE DISCUSSION.

2. HUYDECOPER OF THE NETHERLANDS (HOST COUNTRY) CHAIRED MEETING HIGHLIGHTED BY LENGTHY STATEMENT BY ICRC VICE-PRESIDENT FREYMOND AND FERGUSON-DEWEY PRESENTATION ON RELIEF SURVEY MISSION TO ENCLAVE ("THE SITUATION IS SHOCKINGLY UNEVEN ACROSS THE ENCLAVE," DEWEY SAID) AND ASSESSMENT OF VARIOUS RELIEF PROPOSALS ("MOST OF THESE PROPOSALS DO NOT REACH THE BEDROCK PROBLEM IN RELIEF EFFORTS -- THE POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE THE TWO SIDES," EXPLAINED FERGUSON). END SUMMARY.

3. FREYMOND, IN A 45-MINUTE STATEMENT, SAID POLITICAL FACTORS PREVENTED ICRC FROM RELIEF FLIGHTS. ICRC, UNLIKE UCA, WAS A HOSTAGE OF FMG BECAUSE OF ITS ACTIVITIES ON BOTH SIDES, FREYMOND SAID. ALTHOUGH ICRC CANNOT DIRECTLY VIOLATE NIGERIAN AIR SPACE, NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES CAN FLY (PER ART 23 OF GENEVA CONVENTION), FREYMOND CONTENDED, AND ICRC PREPARED TO ACCEPT GOODS DELIVERED AT ULI BY WHATEVER MEANS, INCLUDING COMMERCIAL LIFTS.

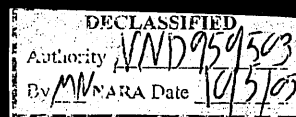
4. HUYDECOPER, HOWEVER, ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ART 23 WHICH, HE SAID, "FREYMOND SKIPS OVER SO EASILY." HUYDECOPER SAID "WE WILL HAVE TO PAY HEAVILY IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD IF WE DO NOT HERE ACT CAREFULLY AND IN UNITY."

5. FREYMOND OUTLINED HIS FOB ULI PLAN -- ICRC WILL CONTINUE FEEDING ACTIVITIES IN ENCLAVE IF DONORS GET FOOD TO ULI. OTHERWISE, FEEDING ROLE WILL BE REDUCED AND ICRC WILL CONCENTRATE ON MEDICAL PROBLEMS, USING UCA AND FRENCH RED CROSS FOR SUPPLIES. ICRC WILL NOT RESUME NIGHT AIRLIFT, HE STRESSED, AND WILL CONTINUE TRADITIONAL ROLE IN NIGERIA.

6. ICRC WOULD CONTINUE TO KEEP THE TRANSALL (FOR EMERGENCY EVACUATION OF ICRC PERSONNEL IN ENCLAVE) AND TWO C-97'S AT COTONOU (FOR USE IF AGREEMENT REACHED ON AIR DROP). FREYMOND SAID. HE ADDED THAT BIAFRANS HAVE NOT RESPONDED TO AIR DROP PROPOSAL PUT TO BIAFRANS BY BOTH RECENT ICRC MISSION AND TO COOKEY ON RECENT EUROPE TRIP.

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7. DEWEY SAID THINGS ARE MUCH WORSE IN ENCLAVE SINCE MAY-JUNE ON-THE-SCENE OBSERVATION. POINTED OUT PEOPLE ARE WELL-FED ALONG MAJOR DISTRIBUTION ROUTE -- THE ORLU-OWERRI ROAD -- BUT ELSEWHERE THE ENCLAVE "PRETTY MUCH A MUDHOLE." THIS, HE SAID, IS THE AREA OF GREATEST CONCERN AND WHERE THE SITUATION IS "SHOCKINGLY DETERIORATING."

8. DEWEY SAID CHILDREN HAVE FIRST CALL ON AVAILABLE FOOD AND PEOPLE SUFFERING MOST ARE ADULTS. ALSO OBSERVED THAT TEDIUM AND BOREDOM ARE SETTING IN AND AFFIRMATION OF SUPPORT FOR REGIME NOT AS CONVINCING OR ENTHUSIASTIC AS MAY-JUNE. DEWEY REPORTED "ALARMING DROP" IN MILITARY DISCIPLINE, NOTING THAT IMPORTANT FACTOR IN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IS MILITARY IDENTIFICATION WITH THE PEOPLE. THIS WAS TRUE BEFORE IN ENCLAVE BUT ARMY NOW HUNGRY AND SOLDIERS HARVESTING CROPS FARMERS PLANTED FOR OWN SURVIVAL.

9. IN ADDITION TO FORCIBLY TAKING CROPS, MILITARY ALSO TAKING RELIEF VEHICLES. RELIEF AGENCIES FINDING IT DIFFICULT TO MAKE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CIVILIANS AND MILITARY AND NOW HELPING SOLDIERS DYING OF STARVATION. "IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONDEMN THIS WHEN YOU SEE THESE PEOPLE NEEDING HELP IN INCREASING NUMBERS," DEWEY SAID.

10. DEWEY REGRETTED LACK OF COORDINATION BETWEEN CARITAS AND WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, AND HUYDECOPER, LATER COMMENTING ON THIS POINT, DEPLORED THAT THE ECUMENICAL OPERATION ON SAO TOME STOPS AT ULI.

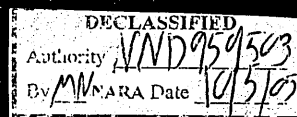
11. STATISTICS BEING REFINED BY U/CF, BUT DEWEY REPORTED THAT POPULATION IN ENCLAVE, EXCLUDING MILITARY, ABOUT 3.4 MILLION. FERGUSON SAID SLIGHTLY MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF POPULATION UNDER 17 YEARS OF AGE.

12. FERGUSON, NOTING MOST OF MEDICAL PROBLEMS IN ENCLAVE STEM FROM FOOD SHORTAGES, SAID HE PROBABLY WOULD CONCLUDE THAT PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO HIGH PROTEIN FOOD CARGOES. HE LISTED DEVELOPING ENDEMIC SITUATION IN INFECTIOUS HEPATITIS AND "FRIGHTENING PROSPECT OF YELLOW FEVER" AS MAJOR MEDICAL PROBLEMS.

13. ON CROSS RIVER, FERGUSON SAID KEY ISSUES ARE SPONSORSHIP AND INSPECTION, WITH BOTH SIDES INSISTING ON SYMBOLIC EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY.

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14. FERGUSON, COMMENTING ON ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PLAN, SAID BIAFRANS ATTEMPTING TO INVOLVE U.S. POLITICALLY. "WE ARE NOT PREPARED AND HAVE NO DESIRE TO RESPOND TO THE IMPLICIT POLITICAL DEMANDS FOR RECOGNITION," HE EXPLAINED.
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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State
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ACTION AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CCO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03

SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 RSR-01 148 W

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O R 181810Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3754
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION BERLIN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMCONSUL LUANDA
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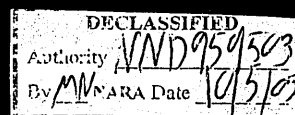
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SUBJECT: HAGUE GROUP MEETING IN GENEVA

15. HUYDECOPER SAID: "MY FEELING IS WE ARE ALMOST AT FIRST
BASE, WHERE WE WERE IN JANUARY." OBSERVED THAT LARGE NUMBER
OF RELIEF PROPOSALS ARE AFLOAT, "BUT ARE NOT BEING TAKEN

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SERIOUSLY BY OUR GOVERNMENTS." PROPOSALS, SUCH AS THE CARRIER-HELICOPTER DISCHARGE PLAN, ARE DANGEROUS, HE SAID, BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

16. HUYDECOPER DISTURBED THAT ICRC POSITION HAS WEAKENED. "WE SHALL NEED THE RED CROSS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD PROBABLY MORE THAN IN BIAFRA," HE SAID. EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING, SYMPATHY AND ADMIRATION FOR ICRC WHICH HAS BEEN WORKING "UNDER EXTREMELY HARD CONDITIONS" AND SAID HAGUE GROUP CAME TO GENEVA TO SHOW "WE ARE THE ICRC."

17. HUYDECOPER EXPRESSED HOPE ICRC WILL INDICATE KIND OF SUPPORT IT DESIRES FROM GROUP. REGRETTING "ENORMOUS LACK OF UNANIMITY" IN THE GROUP, HE SAID "WE WILL HAVE TO START GETTING BACK TO COORDINATED AID AND ACTION."

18. HUYDECOPER FELT FREYMOND'S FOBULI PLAN WAS DANGEROUS BECAUSE IT MIGHT OPEN ROAD TO A FREE-FOR-ALL IN RELIEF EFFORTS.

19. CHRISTMAS TRUCE. EMILIO BETTINI OF ITALY SUGGESTED THAT THE CHRISTMAS TRADITION MIGHT "INDUCE THE TWO PARTIES TO BE MORE REASONABLE." BUT MARC GIRON OF SWEDEN SAID HE "DID NOT SEE AT PRESENT ANY OPENING WE COULD USE TO PROMOTE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OR THE RELIEF EFFORT." GIRON, RECALLING THE UNSUCCESSFUL IVORY COAST EFFORT AT THE U.N. LOOKING TOWARD A CHRISTMAS TRUCE, SAID HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC "ABOUT A CEASE-FIRE EVEN IF FOR PURELY HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES."

20. GIRON WAS DISTURBED THAT THE NIGERIAN RED CROSS HAD BY-PASSED ICRC AND LICROSS AND APPEALED DIRECTLY TO GOVERNMENTS FOR ASSISTANCE. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID, THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT HAD AN OPEN MIND ON THE MATTER BUT HAD NOT DECIDED ON A CONTRIBUTION.

21. BASSET OF ICRC SAID THE ORGANIZATION AND LICROSS WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO SUPPORT A GOVERNMENT INSTITUTION SUCH AS THE NIGERIAN REHAB COMMISSION. "BUT WOULD WELCOME AN ARRANGEMENT TO HELP THE NIGERIA RED CROSS, A SISTER SOCIETY." THE ICRC, HE SAID, WAS AWAITING A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM LAGOS ON THE EXACT RESPONSIBILITIES OF NIGERIAN RED CROSS AND REHAB COMMISSION.

22. IVER ERIKSEN OF NORWAY URGED EARLY SUPPORT FOR NIGERIAN

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RED CROSS BECAUSE OF POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS. LAGOS, HE SAID, COULD EASILY REACH CONCLUSION THAT "AS LONG AS ICRC WAS IN CHARGE THERE WAS NO LACK OF FUNDS." ERIKSEN SAID DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE RELIEF ON A SHORT-TERM BASIS AND WONDERED IF FMG WOULD ACCEPT SLIGHT AMENDMENTS TO ITS AGREEMENT WITH ICRC. ALSO ASKED BASSET ABOUT ICRC MAKING MORE USE OF UCA.

23. BASSET SAID BIGNAMI ACTIVELY WORKING ON DAYLIGHT AGREEMENT AND HAS INDICATED POSSIBILITY OF "OBTAINING ADDITIONAL DECLARATIONS WHICH MIGHT COUNTER-BALANCE SO-CALLED MILITARY CLAUSES." BASSET WARNED, HOWEVER, "WE MUST NOT STRETCH WIRE UNTIL IT SNAPS." SAID "ABOVE ALL, NIGERIAN AUTHORITIES MUST NOT LOSE FACE IN THIS MATTER. WE STILL HAVE TO BE GUIDED BY BIGNAMI. SO FAR HE HAS OBTAINED QUITE A DEGREE OF TOLERANCE FROM FMG."

24. BASSET SAID ICRC SUPPLIES MADE AVAILABLE TO UCA AT SAO TOME "AMOUNT TO THOUSANDS OF TONS." ICRC, HE ADDED, MAKING "FULL USE" OF LIBREVILLE. "WE COULDN'T BRING A TON MORE INTO LIBREVILLE," BASSET SAID. "IF FMG CONTINUES TO CLOSE ITS EYES, WE WILL BE ABLE TO STEP UP OUR ACTIVITIES."

25. RESPONDING TO BRENDON NOLAN OF IRELAND, BASSET SAID MEDICAL PERSONNEL ATTACHED TO ICRC IN LAGOS WORKING IN SO-CALLED LIBERATED AREAS.

26. GIRON CITED SECURITY DIFFICULTIES SWEDISH PERSONNEL ENCOUNTERING IN BIAFRA, AND BASSET AGREED THERE ARE VERY SERIOUS SECURITY PROBLEMS IN ENCLAVE. JAEGGI, HE REPORTED, HAS RETURNED TO ENCLAVE AND WILL CHECK ON SECURITY MEASURES.

27. HUYDECOPER, CLOSING MEETING, URGED PARTICIPANTS TO CONSIDER USEFULNESS OF HAGUE GROUP. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT PREPARED TO CALL ANOTHER MEETING IN FUTURE IF NECESSARY.
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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM

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NIGERIA
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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy KINSHASA

STATE: _____

REF : Kinshasa 6044

SUBJ : Nigerian Developments

Amb Ferguson willing visit Kinshasa if another
occasion
~~occasion~~/develops for him to be in general area. As
of now, Ferguson has no plans for such a trip.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF:SN:HKWalker:bjr	DRAFTING DATE 11-17-69	TEL. EXT. 29311	APPROVED BY: AF/SN - Mr. Brubaker
CLEARANCES: U/CF - Mr. Foley		AF/CF - Mr. McKesson	

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Department of State

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
AR SOC 3 RED CROSS
TELEGRAM

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 UCF-05

AID-28 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01

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R 181450Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY DAKAR
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 12
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10037

SUBJECT: DABNEY MISSION

REF: DAKAR 3396

PH 279 BN
AR SOC 3 RC
SOC 10 Nigerian
APPRECIATE BACKGROUND AND EXPLANATION
QUOTE COMBINED APPEAL UNQUOTE BY AFRICAN RED CROSS
SOCIETIES TO NIGERIAN RED CROSS REFERRED TO PARA 2
REFTEL IS APPEAL CONNECTED WITH PEACE MOVES OR RELIEF
AND IF LATTER, RELIEF IN BIAFRAN OR FMG CONTROLLED AREAS? GP-4
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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Pac 279 Biafra - Nigeria
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22
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UCF-05
SCS-04 SCA-01 EUR-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 UPW-01 E-15
DOT-12 RSR-01 /187 W

R 180715Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2960
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 1211

DEPT PLS PASS AS DESIRED

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

REF: SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS SINCE NOVEMBER 10:

DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTS NOVEMBER 10 AND 13 (2 FLIGHTS).

2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS SINCE NOVEMBER 10:

A. DC-4 F-BRHE NIGHTLY NOVEMBER 11 THROUGH 16 (6 FLIGHTS)

B. DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHT NOVEMBER 10 (1 FLIGHT)

C. CONSTELLATION F-BRAD NIGHTS NOVEMBER 11, 12 AND 14 (3 FLIGHTS)

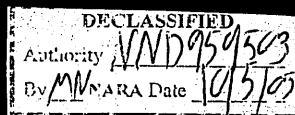
D. DC-6 OO-GER NIGHTLY NOVEMBER 10 THROUGH 15 (6 FLIGHTS)

3. REMARKS:

A. PRESUMED ARMS TRAFFIC DURING PAST WEEK REACHED LOWEST
POINT OF ACTIVITY IN THREE MONTHS. REASON FOR LULL

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PRESUMABLY LACK OF CARGO, OR SUFFICIENCY OF SUPPLIES IN BIAFRA AS NO MECHANICAL PROBLEM DISCERNABLE.

B. RELIEF CARRIER F-BRAP (DC-4) OPERATED BY FRENCH RED CROSS DEPARTED LIBREVILLE MORNING NOVEMBER 11 AND HAS NOT RPT NOT RETURNED. PRESUME AIRCRAFT UNNEEDED AND RETURNED TO EUROPE DUE CURRENT SHORTAGE OF FRC RELIEF CARGOES (SEE LIBREVILLE'S 1202). FRC-CHARTERED CONSTELLATION F-BRAD MEANWHILE OPERATING ONLY IRREGULARLY ON BIAFRAN RUN, USUALLY CARRYING BARRELS OF FUEL, AND NOVEMBER 16 MADE DAYLIGHT TRIP ELSEWHERE RETURNING LATE NOVEMBER 17.

C. DC-6 00-HEX CHARTERED BY OPERATION AFRICA CONCERN, ABSENT FROM LIBREVILLE SINCE NOVEMBER 2, RETURNED HERE NOVEMBER 15 BUT HAS NOT YET RESUMED AIRLIFT ACTIVITY.

D. STRANGERS IN TOWN DURING PAST WEEK:

1. SWEDISH RED CROSS SE-EDT ARR. NOVEMBER 16:

2. ICRC "BALAIR" HB-GBK ARR. NOVEMBER 13 AND DEP. NOVEMBER 14:

3. FOKKER F-27 OR SIMILAR AIRCRAFT (TN-VAL?) PAINTED LIGHT BLUE AND WHITE WITH CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE FLAG ON TAIL:

4. DC-6 TR-LOX HALF-REPAINTED AND STILL SITTING IN CIVILIAN PARKING AREA (LIBREVILLE 1182, PARA 3A); AND

5. TWO OR POSSIBLY THREE SMALL SINGLY ENGINE AIRCRAFT, SIMILAR TO MFI-9B "MINICON", PAINTED LIGHT CIVILIAN COLORS AND FLOURESCENT RED, PARKED UNMOVED SINCE NOVEMBER 13 IN REMOTE CORNER OF MILITARY AREA.

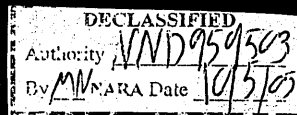
4. RESUME:

A. WEEK OF OCTOBER 27: 9 ARMS FLIGHTS, 11 REL. FLIGHTS

B. WEEK OF NOVEMBER 3: 5 ARMS FLIGHTS, 21 RELIEF FLIGHTS

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0403





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LIBREV 01211 180946Z

C. WEEK OF NOVEMBER 10: 2 ARMS FLIGHTS, 16 RELIEF FLIGHTS
GP-4
FUNKHOUSER

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0404

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By	MVA
Date	10/3/05



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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

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ACTION: Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE
INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
" " PARIS "
USMission GENEVA "

LIMDIS

Subj: British Foreign Secretary's Remarks on US Policy

1. Department informed by British Embassy here, on basis flash telegram from London, that in House of Commons November 17 Stewart referred to Ojukwu's demand for third party guarantees against military risk involved in daylight relief flights and said that "such a guarantee was provided by the United States, but Col. Ojukwu still refuses to accept." He subsequently referred to "a guarantee from the United Government States ~~XXXXXX~~ that this would be done, i.e. daylight flights, in a manner which would not give military advantage to the Nigerian Government".

2. The Embassy went on to say that the Guardian of November 18 reported US Embassy London saying no such guarantee offered. Hugh Fraser, M.P., now asking for explanation apparent discrepancy and planned raise it on point of order in House at 3:30 p.m. November 18.

DRAFTED BY: *WHS*
AF/SN:EBSherry/WHBrubeck:ba
DRAFTING DATE: 11/18/69
TEL. EXT.: 23321
APPROVED BY: *[Signature]*
The Under Secretary
CLEARANCES:
AF-Mr. Newsom *on*
~~xxx~~
S/S-Mr. Levitsky
S/PC-Mr. Ruser *ewr*
U/CF-Mr. Foley
EUR/BMI- Mr. Cheslaw *q*

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0405

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ACTION: LONDON IMMEDIATE INFO LAGOS PARIS GENEVA PRIORITY PAGE 2

3. After consultation with Dept, British Embassy sent Fonoff following text for Stewart use in response Fraser.

4. Text follows: "The United States Government stated they sought and received solemn assurance of Nigerian Federal Government it would ensure no hostile military action would be taken against relief aircraft of International Red Cross, and a number of governments, after consultation with USG, agreed to offer impartial observers to accompany Red Cross flights.

"In view of demand by Biafran authorities for third party guarantees as to good faith of Nigerian Federal Government, the USG sent an emissary to inform Biafran regime of the Federal Government's assurance and of offer of international observers.

"In transmitting Federal Government's assurance therefore the USG engaged its whole prestige and weight in their support. I therefore used the word guarantee, although I understand that American authorities describe it as an assurance.

"At same time the USG, in its message to Biafran leaders, and in the Secretary of State's subsequent public statement on 12 November,

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expressed its belief that the proposed arrangement met legitimate security concerns of Biafrans and offered to make a public statement to meet this concern of Biafrans for third party assurances as to the good faith of the FMG."

5. On basis our understanding with UK Embassy, request Embassy confirm soonest with Fonoff that above text be identified as HMG independent statement, not rpt not product of US-UK consultation.

6. In response any inquiry Embassy should respond by citing Secretary's Nov. 12 statement as self-explanatory. Would appreciate full report on any exchange that takes place this subject.

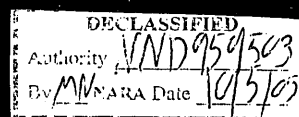
ROGERS

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Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09412 181739Z

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 AID-28 IO-13 ORM-03 SR-01
SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01 /141 W

O R 181707Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4277
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

1. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION YESTERDAY IN COMMONS FROM SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME AS TO WHETHER DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA COULD COMMENCE IF OJUKWU WOULD ACCEPT THEM, FON SEC TY STEWART REPLIED AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE THAT IS SO. THERE IS THE FURTHER POINT THAT I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED, THAT THERE WOULD BE GUARANTEE FROM USG THAT THIS WOULD BE DONE IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD NOT GIVE MILITARY ADVANTAGE TO NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT. UNQUOTE

2. CONSERVATIVE MP HUGH FRASER PLANS DEMAND CLARIFICATION THIS POINT IN TODAY'S QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD AND STEWART WILL REPLY WITH FOLLOWING LANGUAGE WHICH WILL EXPLAIN WHAT HE INTENDED IMPLY BY USE OF WORD "GUARANTEE". UNDERSTAND STATEMENT HAS BEEN CLEARED WITH DEPT BY BRITISH EMBASSY WASHINGTON BUT FOR THE RECORD, TEXT FOLLOWS: QUOTE THE USG HAS STATED THAT THEY SOUGHT AND RECEIVED THE SOLEMN ASSURANCES OF THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT IT WOULD INSURE THAT NO HOSTILE MILITARY ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST THE RELIEF AIRCRAFT OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS, AND A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE USG, AGREED TO OFFER IMPARTIAL OBSERVERS TO ACCOMPANY THE RED

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CROSS FLIGHTS. IN VIEW OF THE DEMAND BY THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES FOR THIRD PARTY GUARANTEES AS TO THE GOOD FAITH OF THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE USG SENT AN EMISSARY TO INFORM THE BIAFRAN REGIME OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCES AND OF THE OFFER OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE USG IN ITS MESSAGE TO THE BIAFRAN LEADERS, AND IN MR. ROGERS' SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT OF 12 NOVEMBER, EXPRESSED ITS BELIEF THAT THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT MET THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY CONCERN OF THE BIAFRANS AND OFFERED TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT TO MEET THE CONCERN OF THE BIAFRANS FOR A THIRD PARTY ASSURANCE AS TO THE GOOD FAITH OF THE FMG.

IN TRANSMITTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCES, THEREFORE, THE USG ENGAGED ITS WHOLE PRESTIGE AND WIEGHT IN THEIR SUPPORT. I, THEREFORE, USED THE WORD GUARANTEE ALTHOUGH I UNDERSTAND THAT THE AMERICAN AUTHORITIES DESCRIBE IT AS AN ASSURANCE. UNQUOTE
ANNENBERG

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONO 01164 171859Z

54.
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 AID-28 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 /151 W
019458

R 171418Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2545

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FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION LAGOS INFO GENEVA IMMEDIATE NOV
14 HW REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO QUOTE

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PLEASE PASS BIGNAMI FROM STURZENEGGER: ABRAHAM MENDES (HERE
KNOWN AS BERNARD) DUTCH BORN AMSTERDAM MAY 2, 1941 WORKED
AS FLIGHT LOADMASTER COTONOU-ULI FLIGHTS MAY 9 TO JUNE 3
THEN TRANSFERRED TO BIAFRA AS PHYSIOTHERAPEUT ON REQUEST
DR. BAKKER STOP UNRELIABLE AND NOT LIKED BY HIS COLLEAGUES.
CLAIMED TO BE EX-LIEUTENANT ISRAELI PARAS LEFT BIAFRA FOR
MEDICAL REASONS END JULY AND WAS THEN FOUND TO HAVE DRAWN US
\$474 TOO MUCH ADVANCE PER DIEM CLAIMED TO HAVE THIS IN
HIS LUGGAGE LEFT WITH JEWISH FAMILY COTONOU LUGGAGE OPENED
IN COTONOU COURT AUG. 23 AND NOTHING FOUND IT IS BELIEVED
THAT HE WAS HIMSELF CARRYING A REVOLVER WHICH CHIEF ANALWA
ORDERED HIM TO LEAVE IN COTONOU.
LOORAM UNQUOTE LOORAM

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Authority VND 959/503
By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05

Cotonou 1164
11-17-69



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Department of State
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UNCLASSIFIED 873

PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01798 172323Z

88
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01
ORM-03 SCSE-00 SCA-01 AID-28 UCF-05 UPW-01 IG-13

RSR-01 /156 W

R 172320Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5520

020684

UNCLAS OTTAWA 1798

SUBJ: BIAFRAN RELIEF

REF: OTTAWA 1792

1. TRUDEAU MADE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS DURING NOV 17
HOUSE QUESTION PERIOD IN RESPONSE SERIES OF QUESTIONS
ON BIAFRAN RELIEF SITUATION (BASED ON UNCLEARED
HANSARD "BLUES"): "OUR POSITION HAS NOT CHANGED,
BUT AS OBSERVERS OF THIS CIVIL WAR WE FEEL WE HAVE
REACHED THE STAGE AT WHICH IT IS OBVIOUS TO THIS
GOVERNMENT AND, PERHAPS, TO MORE CANADIANS THAN
PREVIOUSLY, THAT COLONEL OJUKWU IS REALLY NOT
INTERESTED IN ALLOWING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. THE I.C.R.C.,
CANADIAN RED CROSS, CANADIAN GOVERNMENT, UNITED
STATES GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN EXPLORING WAYS
IN WHICH RELIEF SUPPLIES INVOLVING FOOD, DRUGS AND
MEDICINES CAN BE BROUGHT INTO BIAFRA, IF ONLY THE
BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES WOULD ALLOW THE AIRSTRIP TO BE USED.
NEVERTHELESS, FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER THE BIAFRAN
AUTHORITIES HAVE REFUSED THESE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.
WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER OTHER WAYS OF GETTING
SUPPLIES TO THE STARVING PEOPLE OF BIAFRA. WE
HAVE SUGGESTED OTHER WAYS, INCLUDING AIR DROPS, USE
OF HELICOPTERS, RIVER CROSSINGS AND SO ON. IT ALWAYS
HAPPENS THAT BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES DO NOT SEE THEIR WAY

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PAGE 02 OTTAWA 01798 172323Z

CLEAR TO ACCEPTING THESE ALTERNATIVE WAYS. MR. SPEAKER,
IT IS KNOWN THAT AIR FLIGHTS DURING THE NIGHT ARE
BRINGING IN ARMS....WE DO NOT KNOW THIS IS THE WAY ARMS
GET IN, UNDER COVER OF THE RELIEF SUPPLY FLIGHTS."

2. TRUDEAU ALSO QUOTED RECENT WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASE
OUTLINING VARIOUS STEPS TAKEN BY USG IN
EFFORT MAKE RELIEF SUPPLIES AVAILABLE TO BIAFRAN
REFUGEES.
SCHMIDT

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 01 THE HA 04439 171633Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 INSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

ACDA-18 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 UCE-05

UPW-01 RSR-01 /178 W 018691

R 171530Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4767
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE THE HAGUE 4439

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF -- ALLEGATION OF GUN-RUNNING ON
ICRC AIRCRAFT

REF: LAGOS 9936

1. WE THUS FAR UNABLE LOCATE ANY INTERVIEW WITH ABRAHAM MENDEZ
CARRIED ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD. QUERY TO PAPER ALSO NEGATIVE.

2. ANOTHER DUTCH NEWSPAPER (DE TIJD) CARRIED ON AUGUST 30 REPORT
OF AN INTERVIEW IN AMSTERDAM. MENDEZ, REPORTEDLY AN ISRAELI OF
DUTCH ORIGIN, THEN SAID HE HAD SPENT 4 1/2 MONTHS IN BIAFRA FOR
ICRC -- ONE MONTH AS "FLIGHT LOADMASTER" ON COTONOU-ULI RUN
IN APRIL 1969, FOLLOWED BY EMPLOYMENT IN RED CROSS HOSPITAL IN
BIAFRA. HE SAID HE ABOUT TO RETURN TO BIAFRA TO WORK IN ARMY
HOSPITAL AND TO TRAIN BIAFRAN TROOPS IN HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT.

3. MENDEZ CHARGED THAT AS LOADMASTER HE TWICE HAD BEEN ASKED
TO LOOK OTHER WAY WHEN MAUSER 7.69 MACHINEGUNS OF CZECH ORIGIN
WERE CARRIED ON ICRC FLIGHTS -- DESTINED FOR SALE IN BIAFRA
BY "ONE OR MORE" ICRC EMPLOYEES STATIONED IN BIAFRA WHO WINING

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OWN POCKETS. HE DID NOT BELIEVE HIGHER-UPS IN ICRC AWARE OF THIS. HE ADMITTED TO HAVING LEFT RED CROSS EMPLOYMENT BECAUSE OF DIFFICULTIES WITH SUPERIORS.

4. DETAILS GIVEN IN DE TIJD STORY VARY FROM THOSE REPORTED REFTEL, BUT IT SEEMS MENDEZ DREDGING UP SAME SET OF CHARGES, WHICH GO BACK TO LAST APRIL. DECON 11-17-70. MIDDENDORF

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POH 27-9 BIAHRA-NIGERIA
XR SOC 3 RED CROSS

TELEGRAM

XR SOC 10 NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 03396 172000Z

54.
ACTION: AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCA-01 SCS-04

UPW-01 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01

/160 W

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R 171815Z NOV 19
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4984
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL DAKAR 3396

1. WILLIAM DABNEY, UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL OF ASSOCIATION OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES IN GENEVA WAS IN DAKAR 15 NOVEMBER IN ORDER TO PERSUADE RITO ALCANTARA, PRESIDENT OF SENEGALESE RED CROSS AND VICE CHAIRMAN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION ENLIST HELP OTHER AFRICAN SOCIETIES IN NIGERIAN PROBLEM.

2. DABNEY SAID THAT RED CROSS FELT THAT COMBINED APPEAL BY AFRICAN SOCIETIES COULD NOT BE IGNORED BY NIGERIAN RED CROSS. HE ASKED ALCANTARA TO CABLE ALL OTHER AFRICAN RED CROSS SOCIETIES SUGGESTING A MEETING IN ADDIS AT WHICH COMBINED DEMARCHE TO NIGERIA COULD BE DEVELOPED. ALCANTARA AGREED AND TOLD ME SENGHORI APPROVED OF IDEA. DABNEY SAID HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED SEND ALCANTARA AROUND TO VISIT OTHER AFRICAN SOCIETIES BUT SUCH A MEASURE WOULD BE TOO TIME-CONSUMING AND COSTLY.

3. COMMENT: GENEVA MAY HAVE ALREADY HEARD ABOUT DABNEY'S DAKAR VISIT BUT IN ANY CASE WE WILL REPORT ON REPLIES SENT BY AFRICAN SOCIETIES TO ALCANTARA AND STAND READY TO HELP IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE.

LUKENS

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

COPIES TO:
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U/CF #17669

November 17, 1969

RS/R FILES

Attention Mr. Hall
Keep this study together.

①
Dear Mrs. Flaherty:

I should like to express to you and your family our profound condolences on your great loss.

Ambassador Ferguson has told me of your husband's outstanding contributions and humanitarian efforts to relieve the plight of the innocent victims of the Nigerian conflict. In addition to his unique logistics skills, your husband's great sympathy for suffering people impelled him to give unstintingly to help others. He won the respect, cooperation, and deep affection of all who came to know him during his many mercy missions in the service of his country.

On behalf of his associates at the Department of State and in our Missions abroad who have lost a valued colleague and a cherished friend, I send you our most heartfelt sympathy.

Sincerely,

William P. Rogers
William P. Rogers

Mrs. Charles W. Flaherty,
2060 Atwater Circle,
Norfolk, Virginia.

②
U/CF:HShishkin

②
POL 6-2 US/FLAHERTY, CHARLES W.
RE POL 2-7-9 BIAFRA -
NIGERIA
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
Department of State NIGERIA
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04142 171838Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28
UCF-05 ACDA-18 MC-02 E-15 IGA-02 SR-01 ORM-03 EUR-20
RSR-01 /191 W

Geneva 4142
11-17-69

R 171745Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3738
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4142

SUBJECT: NIGERIA BIAFRA RELIEF ROBARDS

1. ROBARDS HAS RECEIVED CABLE DATED NOV 8 FROM SE STATE REHAB COM OGUN REQUESTING HELICOPTERS, IS IN TOWN TO DISCUSS HIS REPLY WITH NIGERIAN MISSION AND DEWEY, UZCF. TEXT OF CABLE FOLLOWS: QUOTE. DIRECTED BY GOVERNOR SE STATE TO REQUEST EIGHT HELICOPTERS FOR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION PURPOSES IN SE STATE. UNQUOTE.

2. WITH THIS OPENING ROBARDS PROPOSED PLAN TO DEWEY (AND NIGERIAN MISSION) WHICH WOULD: A) OPERATE 13 HELICOPTERS IN CO-CALLED "DICEY" AREAS ON FMG SIDE. B) CONTRACT WITH LOCKHEED FOR C-130, USE FOR DAYLIGHT LOW LEVEL PARACHUTE EXTRACTION IN BIAFRA, MAKE SUBSEQUENT RETAIL DISTRIBUTION WITH ONE H-34 HELICOPTER.

3. RE BIAFRAN PORTION, DEWEY SIMPLY SAID IT WAS NON-STARTER FOR OBVIOUS REASONS. HAVING NO FOREWARNING OF OGUN REQUEST, COULD ONLY SAY MATTER WOULD BE REFERRED TO LAGOS FOR MORE DETAILS.

① 4. FOR LAGOS: REQUEST DETAILS ON OGUN'S HELICOPTER UTILIZATION

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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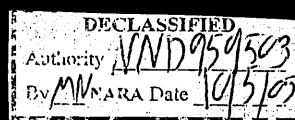
PAGE 02 GENEVA 04142 171838Z

PLAN. WHILE UYCF HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY NEGATIVE ON ROARDS PLANS (MAINLY DUE HIGH COST, LOW EFFICIENCY COMPARED OTHER TRANSPORT MEANS), WOULD CONSIDER HELICOPTERS IF THAT ONLY WAY TO OPERATE IN DICEY AREAS. NEED MUCH MORE INFORMATION ON DISTRIBUTION SITUATION FMG SIDE BEFORE MAKING EVALUATION, SPECIFICALLY: A) IN AREAS WHERE TRUCKS CAN DISTRIBUTE, ARE THEY DISTRIBUTING? IF SO, WHAT IS AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF TRUCKS AVAILABLE ON DAILY BASIS? IF NOT DISTRIBUTING, WHY (E.G. DUE BAD ROADS, POOR MECHANICS, NO PARTS, SHORTAGE PETROL)? B) IN AREAS TOO INSECURE FOR TRUCK CONVOYS, IS THERE POTENTIAL FOR SPOT FEEDING/SPOT CLINICS SERVED BY HELICOPTER?

5. ROARDS SAYS NIGERIAN MISSION GENEVA ALSO REFERRING PLAN TO LAGOS FOR REPLY.
RIMESTAD

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON.

~~Department~~ Meeting with Under Secretary on Nigerian relief options deferred until Monday Nov. 17. Instructions for your discussions in Geneva will therefore have to wait. Hope to have them reach you no later than opening of business ~~Tuesday Nov. 18.~~ Geneva Tuesday Nov. 18.

END.

ROGERS

192871

(1)

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley <i>mf</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11/15/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF:JWFoley <i>mf</i>
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CLEARANCES:
S/PC: Mr. Ruser (subs) *mf*

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4-68

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Per 27-9 Benfra-Tugma
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PAGE 01 LIBREV 01202 151112Z

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ACTION: UCF-05

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 CCO-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03

SCS-04 SCA-01 UPW-01 RSR-01 /142 W

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P R 150935Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2956
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 1202

STATE FOR UCF

SUBJECT: RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR FRENCH RED CROSS

1. FRENCH AMBASSADOR LAST NIGHT REQUESTED U.S. ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING TRANSFER OF COTONOU/SANTA ISABEL STOCK TO LIBREVILLE. HE ASKED IF TAF CSOUUS, PRESUMABLY STOCKPILED IN COTONOU, COULD

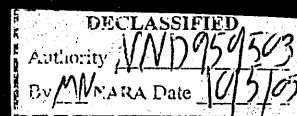
SUPPLY FRENCH RED CROSS NEEDS OF 25 - 28 TONS DAILY UNTIL STOCKS REPLENISHED.

2. FRENCH RC HAS ALSO CONTACTED ICRC FOR HELP IN MEETING RELIEF SUPPLY PROBLEM (CF GENEVA 4103). LOCAL FRC DIRECTOR LTC. MERLE INFORMED US TODAY HE HAD WORD FROM PARIS THAT ICRC HAD AGREED MAKE AVAILABLE 1050 TONS OF SUPPLIES FROM SANTA ISABEL STOCKS, INCLUDING DRIED FISH, MILK, AND CSM. TRANSPORT PROBLEM NOT YET RESOLVED, HOWEVER. MERLE SAID POSSIBILITIES OF CHARTERING OPERATION AFRICA CONCERN'S 650-TON "CULUM CILL" WERE URGENTLY BEING INVESTIGATED, BUT TIME REQUIRED FOR SEA TRANSPORT WILL INEVITABLY CAUSE SERIOUS INTERRUPTION OF FRC RELIEF PIPELINE INTO BIAFRA.

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*Libreville 1202
11-15-69*

0420





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LIBREV 01202 151112Z

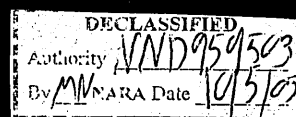
3. MERLE ALSO SAID FRC HAD CONTACTED JCA/SAO TOME RE POSSIBILITY
OBTAINING SHARE OF ITS STOCK BUT WAS TOLD NONE WERE AVAILABLE.
GP-4

FUNKHOUSER

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED.

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0421



37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 043

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04087 111111Z

19
ACTION AID 28

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00,

USIE 00, CCO 00, PM 05, H 02, INRI 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRR 01,

SS 20, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, EUR 20, RSR 01, 141 W
116124

O R 151100Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3687
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4087

REF STATE 189946

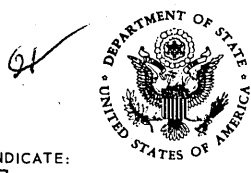
ICRC (JAGGI) ADVISES THEY HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT
EXTENDED CHARTER ON LSMS. SO FAR AS KNOWN IN ICRC
GENEVA LSMS WILL DEPART LAGOS ON SCHEDULE.
BASSIN

Geneva 4087
11-5-69

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



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☐ CHARGE TO

POL 27-9 Biafra-nigeria
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Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM

28 B

14 Nov 69 20 31z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LISBON
INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN, DAKAR, FRANKFURT, LAGOS, LIBREVILLE
STATE
REF: STATE 191575 *POL 27-9 Biafra-nigeria*
In reftel, para 2, please omit the word leasee where it appears.
GP-3
END

192074

ROGERS

6

DRAFTED BY: E/OA/AVP:WSDiedrich:bl <i>WSD</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11/14/69	TEL. EXT. 20827	APPROVED BY: E/OA/AVP - Mr. Styles <i>[Signature]</i>
CLEARANCES:			

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Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0423

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Authority *VND 954503*
By *MM* Date *10/3/05*

37



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☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM

192291
POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
07 NIGERIA
14 Nov 69 22 12z

DISTRIBUTION	ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA	PRIORITY
	STATE _____	
REF Geneva 4117. SUBJECT: U/CF. 1. Ref Para Two: Mission authorized to continue funding under same citation as previously furnished. 2. Ref Para Three: See septel. END		

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:HBSHishkin	DRAFTING DATE 11/21/69	TEL. EXT. 29002	APPROVED BY: John W. Foley Jr.
--------------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	-----------------------------------

CLEARANCES: S/S:EX - Mr. Baldwin (subst)

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Authority VMD 9501503
By MWA Date 10/3/05

37



INDICATE:
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 Classification
 Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

XR 192276
ORG 7 U/CF
355

14 Nov 69 22 09z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA

State _____

1. Mission may draw upon AID funds/Appropriation of \$200

72-1101000 Allotment 023-61-000-00-04-01 ~~XXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ of \$200 for Ambassador Ferguson's
 representation needs during visits Geneva.

END

192276

ROGERS

(2)

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:HBSHishkinDRAFTING DATE
11/14/69TEL. EXT.
29002APPROVED BY:
John W. Foley Jr.

CLEARANCES:

AFR/MGT - ATucker (subs)
 S/S - Mr. Baldwin (info)

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 Classification

FORM FS-413
 4-68

0425

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority VMD 9504503
 By MWA Date 10/3/05

37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 164

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04117 141533Z

59:
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, SS 20, NSC 10, AF 12, RSR 01, RSC 01, /063: W
..... 005224

P 141425Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3716

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4117

SUBJECT: UCF

REF: STATE 124977

1. AMBASSADOR CLYDE FERGUSON RETURNING GENEVA NOVEMBER 17 PM
FOR TALKS HERE THROUGH NOVEMBER 21.

2. REQUEST AUTHORIZATION TO CONTINUE EXPEND FUNDS SUPPORT
MEETING AND COVER COSTS FOR CAR AND DRIVER, SECRETARIAL ASSIS-
TANCE AND HOTEL SUITE FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON.

3. IF REPRESENTATION AUTHORIZED PLEASE FURNISH FUNDING.
RIMESTAD

*Geneva 4117
11-14-69*

①

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0426

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Authority VND 959/503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 026

PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01792 150147Z

84
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 SR-01 SCA-01 SCS-04 UPW-01
UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 E-15 MC-02
RSR-01 ORM-03 /177 W

008616

R 142301Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5514
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OTTAWA 1792

SUBJ: BIAFRAN RELIEF

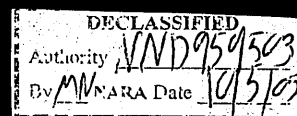
1. DURING HOUSE QUESTION PERIOD NOV. 14, FORMER
PRIME MINISTER DIEFENBAKER ASKED IF GOVERNMENT

WOULD MAKE EFFORT TO "BRING SUCCOR TO (BIAFRAN)
YOUNGSTERS..."

2. PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU REPLIED (BASED ON UNCLEARED
HANSARD "BLUES"): "MR. SPEAKER, THE RIGHT HON.
GENTLEMAN SHOULD KNOW THAT THE DIFFICULTY WITH THE
RELIEF FLIGHTS IS BASED ON THE FACT THAT THE BIAFRAN
AUTHORITIES DO NOT PERMIT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, THAT THEY
ARE SUING THE NIGHT FLIGHTS MEANT TO BRING IN RELIEF
SUPPLIES IN ORDER TO BRING IN ARMS SUPPLIES, AND THAT
THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES APPARENTLY HAVE FOLLOWED A
COURSE DIRECTED AT MAKING SURE THAT THEY RECEIVE ARMS
AND NOT FOOD OR OTHER MEDICAL SUPPLIES FOR THE STARVING
PEOPLE OVER THE AIR SPACE CONTROLLED BY THEM. IN THESE
CIRCUMSTANCES WE CAN ONLY CONTINUE TO MAKE OUR APPEALS,
SUCH AS THOSE MADE BY THE RED CROSS AND WHICH I
BELIEVE THE OPPOSITION SHOULD ALSO MAKE TO COLONEL

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 OTTAWA 01792 150147Z

OJUKWU TO BE A LITTLE MORE HUMAN AND TO THINK OF THE
STARVING PEOPLE TO WHICH THE RIGHT HON. GENTLEMAN
MADE REFERENCE.

3. COMMENT: TRUDEAU STATEMENT DOES NOT CHANGE GOC
POSITION WHICH PUTS ONUS FOR BLOCKAGE OF RELIEF FLIGHTS
ON BIAFRAN OFFICIALS. VIGOR AND THRUST OF TRUDEAU'S
NOV 14 STATEMENT, ACCORDING TO MEMBER PRIME MINISTER'S
STAFF, PROBABLY DUE TO FACT THAT PROPOSAL RED CROSS
AGREEMENT ONLY RECENTLY "SHOT DOWN" BY COLONEL OJUKWU.
SMITH

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09926 141146Z

16
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12,

AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, IO 13, RSR 01, /160 W
----- 003861

P R 141027Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9948
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9926

REF: LAGOS 9864

COVERAGE OF SECRETARY'S STATEMENT BY SEAN KELLY ON VOA
1900 GMT BORADCAST LAST NIGHT WAS ADMIRABLE. MANY
THANKS. GP-3
TRUEHEART

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4

0429

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09929 141106Z

20
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, ID 13, EUR 20, CIAE 00, DODE 00, FM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01,
ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, MC 02, ACDA 18, /180 W
003673.

P R 141030Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 9949
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 9929

1. PLEASE PASS ICRC COTONOU FOR STURZENEGGER (ICRC)
FROM BIGNAMI.

2. BEGIN QUOTE: LOCAL PRESS IS QUOTING INTERVIEW
BY DUTCH PAPER OF ABRAHAM MENDEZ SUGGESTED TO BE A
FORMER LOADING SUPERVISOR AT COTONOU STOP MENDEZ
CLAIMS TO HAVE WATCHED SMUGGLING OF ARMS IN RED CROSS
PLANE STOP PLEASE CONFIRM BY RETURN WHETHER
MENDEZ HAS EVER BEEN WORKING IN COO OR NOT STOP.
IF YES SEND ALL AVAILABLE INFORMATION ABOUT HIM
AND HIS WORK AND STAY IN COO TO LAGOS AND GENEVA.
BIGNAMI INTERCROSS. END QUOTE. EXEMPT
TRUEHEART

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By MVA Date 10/3/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

S/S-56

RM/R REP AF

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AGR COM FRB

INT LAB TAR

TR XMB AIR

ARMY CIA NAVY

OSD USIA NSA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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LIMDIS - NOFORN

A-115

NO.

CONFIDENTIAL

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : US Mission GENEVA

DEPT PLEASE REPEAT AS DESIRED

FROM : Amembassy LIBREVILLE

SUBJECT : Situation in Biafra

REF : Libreville 1184

RECEIVED

NOV 20 2 35 PM 1969

DATE: November 14, 1969

COPY NO. 1 SERIES A

On November 10, Ltc. Jean MERLE, Military advisor to French Ambassador DELAUNEY, provided us with data on French Red Cross relief activity in and out of Biafra during the month of October. In general terms, Merle said, the relief situation was slightly less critical just now, thanks to the progress in harvesting local food crops within the Biafran enclave during recent weeks. However, Merle noted, the Biafrans' shortages of protein foods continued to grow even more acute; milk, meat, and fish remain almost unavailable outside relief channels.

Merle reported that the airlift activities of the French Red Cross itself were currently threatened by a most serious pipeline bubble. The FRC had counted heavily upon receiving ICRC stocks now lying idle in warehouses in Cotonou and Santa Isable, but to date the ICRC has apparently not moved to free these stocks nor arrange their shipment to Libreville. Meanwhile, the FRC's own supply line from sources of supply in Europe had been cut due to the strike of dock workers in French ports. As a consequence, Merle said, his operation here would be forced to close down almost completely within three days pending arrival of new shipments of foodstuffs.

Following is a summary of French Red Cross activity here during the past month: *all m m*

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

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☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by: ECON/POL:TFCrigler/r2a

Contents and Classification Approved by:

AMB:RFunkhouser

Clearance:

0431

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Authority: VNP 959503
By: MVA Date: 10/3/05

Relief Activity Through 31 October 1969

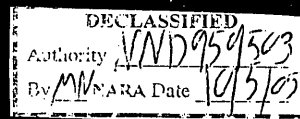
	<u>Oct. 1-31</u>	<u>Since Beginning of Operation</u>	<u>Observations</u>
Missions flown by French Red Cross airplanes	37	363	2 DC-4 1 Super G
Tonnage of food and medicines landed in Biafra	249 T.	2,132 T.	
Tonnage of medicines, etc. placed at disposition of civilian reception centers in Gabon	25 T.	175 T.	
Number of children evacuated to Gabon	177	4,063	of whom 1,132 prior to 25 September 1968
Number of children treated at French Military Hospital, Libreville	120	2,014	
Deceased among children evacuated	16	165	

Biafran Refugee Children In Gabon as of 31 October 1969

French Military Field Hospital	181
German Caritas	1,581
International Caritas:	
Ste. Marie Center	385
St. Andre Center	156
Oyem	44
Franceville	30
Fougamou	11
Bitam	51
Okoundja	13
Lambarene	17

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A# 115
LIBREVILLE
Page 3

continued:

Biafran Refugee Children in Gabon as of 31 October 1969

Schweitzer Hospital, Lambarene	40
Terre des Hommes (km 6)	490
Order of Malta hospitals:	
Mouila	66
Koulamoutou	15
Lastourville	20

Biafran Refugee Children Outside Gabon

Ivory Coast:

Bouake	350
Cocody	326
Grand Bassam	183
Yamoussoukro	119 1/

1/ with plans to receive 500 more

Ireland

Dublin

2

FUNKHOUSER

RF.

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0433

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MM NARA
Date	10/5/05

TOP SECRET

POST LIBREVILLE

SERIAL 17-115

L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

AIRGRAM

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S/S-O DIR

MilRep

Digest

Task Force

Principals and
"S" Area

ES

S 1

U 1

J

D

C

S/PC 2

S/CPR

S/FW

S/GOV

S/IL

S/PM

S/R

U/CF 1

U/PW

PM 3

D/WP

Geographic

AF 5

ARA 11

EA 11

EUR 12

NEA 8

Functional

CU

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SCI

Other

WH 10

VP

DOD

CIA

USIA 4

PC

Other

ACDA 6

AID 12

TRSY 6

FRB

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BOB

CEA

COM 2

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WHRE

AGR 3

LAB

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NASA

JUS

FBI

NIC

NSA

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Burned

10/11/61

0434

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Authority VND 950/503
By MW NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09938 141507Z

53
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28,

SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, SCSE 00, SCA 01, RSR 01, /156 W

005047

R 141240Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9962
INFO: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 9938

SUBJECT: REACTION TO SECSTATES STATEMENT ON RELIEF

1. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT EXPRESS GIVE GOOD PLAY TO SECSTATES STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 12, SOME WITH BANNER HEADLINES. FMG ISSUED OFFICIAL MININFO PRESS RELEASE AFTERNOON NOV 13 WITH EXTENSIVE QUOTES UNDER CAPTION "OJUKWU BLAMED FOR HUNGER IN REBEL AREAS", AND STORY WAS LEAD ITEM ON NIGERIAN TV AND RADIO NEWS PROGRAMS. NO EDITORIAL COMMENT SO FAR. TRUEHEART

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0435

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Authority VNP 959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09936 141310Z

47
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 20, CIAE 00, DODE 00, RM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 18, AID 28,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, 178 W

004397

R 141040Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9956
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY THEHAGUE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 9936

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF - ALLEGATION OF GUNRUNNING ON ICRC AIRCRAFT

REF: LAGOS 9929 (NOTAL)

1. LAGOS PRESS NOV. 14. PROMINENTLY FEATURES REPORT BASED ON DUTCH ALGEMEEN. HANDELSBLAD. NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW WITH ISRAELI CITIZEN, ABRAHAM MENDEZ, DESCRIBED AS FORMER ICRC LOADING SUPERVISOR AT COTONOU. MENDEZ ALLEGES HE DISCOVERED THREE CRATES MAUSER RIFLES AND THREE BOXES AMMUNITION PLACED ON ICRC RELIEF PLANE BY AN ICRC OFFICIAL ENGAGED IN PRIVATE BUSINESS WITH BIAFRA. WHEN MENDEZ PROTESTED, HE REPORTEDLY LOST JOB BECAUSE HE KNEW TOO MUCH ABOUT PRIVATE GUNRUNNING ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN ICRC OFFICIALS.

2. MENDEZ ALSO CHARGED THAT HE SAW FRENCH RED CROSS AIRCRAFT AT ULI WHICH HAD BEEN FITTED WITH 0.30 MACHINE GUNS FOR POSSIBLE USE AGAINST NAFI PATROL JETS.

3. ICRC LAGOS UNABLE COMMENT ON STORY AND HAS REQUESTED DETAILS AND COMMENT FROM ICRC COTONOU (REFTEL). NIGERIAN PRESS TREATING STORY AS CONFIRMATION

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By MWA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 09936 141310Z

OF PAST ALLEGATIONS OF ICRC ARMS DELIVERIES TO REBELS.
APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION POSTS MAY HAVE ON MENDEZ.
REPORT. EXEMPT.
TRUEHEART

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0437

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Authority	VND959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09963 141911Z

45
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 SR-01 ORM-03 UCF-05 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01
UPW-01: RSR-01 /160 W

R 141701Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9976
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 9963

REF: GENEVA 4071

SUBJ: REPORT FROM BIGNAMI RE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI CALLED AT EMBASSY TODAY AND SAID HE HAD SEEN DEPPERMSSEC ENAHORO THIS MORNING AND ASKED PERMISSION SEND FEW ICRC NIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO ULI IN ORDER TO CARRY DRUGS AND MEDICINES WHICH SOON MIGHT OTHERWISE PERISH AND WHICH DESPERATELY NEEDED THERE. AT SAME TIME, HE PROPOSED INFORMALLY TO ENAHORO A CHANGE IN PARA 6.2 OF ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT WITH FMG. HIS PROPOSAL WAS THAT LANGUAGE BE CHANGED TO A PLEDGE BY FMG TO TAKE NO RPT NO HOSTILE ACTION AGAINST RELIEF PLANES NOR ACTION AGAINST ULI DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS DESIGNATED FOR ICRC RELIEF OPERATIONS AND NOT RPT NOT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF DAYLIGHT RELIEF OPERATIONS FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. SIMILAR REQUEST WOULD BE PUT TO BIAFRANS WHO WOULD BE ASKED TO AGREE NOT TO USE ULI FOR MILITARY PURPOSES DURING DESIGNATED HOURS OF RELIEF OPERATION. (PROTECT ABOUT PROPOSAL SINCE BIGNAMI HAS NOT YET FORWARDED PROPOSED DOCUMENTS TO GENEVA.)

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0438

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Authority: VND 959503
By: MVA Date: 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 09963 141911Z

2. ENAHORO SUGGESTED THAT IF AGREEMENT TO CHANGE IN MILITARY CLAUSE WAS TO BE HAD FROM FMG, WOULD BE BETTER NOT RPT NOT TO PROPOSE ADDITIONAL NIGHT FLIGHTS AT THIS TIME. BIGNAMI AGREED BUT SAID THAT IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES HE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO FIND ANOTHER CARRIER TO BRING THE MEDICINES AND DRUGS TO ULI. ENAHORO RAISED NO RPT NO OBJECTION.

3. BIGNAMI CONFIRMED ICRC INTENT TO MAINTAIN AN ICRC ESTABLISHMENT IN BIAFRA. IN ADDITION TO MEDICINES FOR WHICH ICRC APPARENTLY PREPARED TO TAKE INITIATIVE IN FINDING TRANSPORT, BIGNAMI SAID ICRC PERSONNEL IN BIAFRA WOULD ACCEPT ANY RELIEF GOODS FOR DISTRIBUTION WHICH DONORS WISH TO MAKE AND FOR WHICH DONORS ARRANGED TRANSPORT TO ULI. HE INSISTED ICRC WAS NOT GOING TO BE IN THE POSITION OF ITSELF SEEKING OTHER CARRIERS TO BRING ICRC FOOD SUPPLIES INTO ULI. MEDICINES AND DRUGS, HE FELT, COULD BE SINGLED OUT AND WOULD NOT RPT NOT REQUIRE MASSIVE AIRLIFT. TO ENGAGE IN BUSINESS OF CHARTERING THROUGH OTHER AGENCIES, E.G. FRENCH RED CROSS OR UCA, WOULD RUN CONTRARY TO ICRC OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

4. BIGNAMI EXPECTS SANTA ISABEL BASE BE CLOSED AND COTONOU REDUCED TO TWO PLANES. HE PLACED US ON NOTICE THAT SHOULD IT BECOME POSSIBLE TO BEGIN DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, HE WOULD HOPE FOR ASSISTANCE FROM US IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PROMPT CAPABILITY. WE ASSURED HIM THAT WE THOUGHT US WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT BE HELPFUL IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.
GP-3
TRUEHEART

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22

0439

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Authority	VND 959503
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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9920
BT
SECRET LAGOS 9878

3 0 2 7 Q
RECVD: 13 NOV 69
6:37AM

*67/11/11
8186 2048
Lagos*

NODIS

S/S PASS INFO LONDON AND PARIS *Bill knows the way around*

REF: A) STATE 190258; B) STATE 190531

1. FOR BACKGROUND WOULD APPRECIATE RATIONALE FOR ELIMINATION, IN FINAL VERSION SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN RELIEF, REFERENCE TO AMBASSADOR FERGUSON'S HAVING GIVEN BIAFRANS SPECIFIC ASSURANCE THAT UNITED STATES ACCEPTED GOOD FAITH AND SOLEMN PLEDGE OF FMG AS TO INVIOABILITY OF ICRC DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

2. FMG HAS OF COURSE NOT SEEN DRAFT CONTAINED REFERENCE (A) BUT THEY MIGHT WELL NOTE OMISSION OF THIS SIGNIFICANT PHRASE IN VIEW OF WHAT THEY HAD BEEN TOLD EARLIER ABOUT OUR PLANS. SHOULD THEY QUERY ME, I PROPOSE TO SAY THAT, AS FMG KNOWS, AMBASSADOR FERGUSON DID GIVE SUCH ASSURANCES TO BIAFRANS AND THIS IS CLEAR IMPLICATION OF SECRETARY'S STATEMENT, I.E., WE WOULD HARDLY HAVE SENT AMBASSADOR FERGUSON ON THIS MISSION UNLESS WE ACCEPTED FMG GOOD FAITH. I PRESUME, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS FELT IN WASHINGTON THAT AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT THAT THE US GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE GOOD FAITH OF THE FMG MIGHT BE TAKEN AS INVIDIOUS OR CONDESCENDING. GP-1

TRUEHEART

BT

NNNN

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By	MM NARA Date 10/3/05

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191764

45 B

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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STATE 191764

Ref: NODIS 9878

~~NODIS~~

You may reply as suggested in event FMG should raise question.

For your information, in final review statement it was felt that word "assurance" in wider domestic context would imply more than was actually intended.

NODIS REVIEW

Cat. A - Caption removed;
transferred to O/FADRC
Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC
with additional access
controlled by S/S
Cat. C - Caption and custody
retained by S/S

Reviewed by: Ambassador W. Witman, II
Date: 4/22/1975

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF:DDNewsom:gm

DRAFTING DATE

11/13/69

TEL. EXT.

22530

APPROVED

The Secretary

CLEARANCES:

S/S - Mr. Eliot

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By MM NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09864 130940Z

21
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00,

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SS 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01,

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O R 130905Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9910
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9864

REF STATE 190531, 190532

1. I DELIVERED SECRETARY'S STATEMENT TO ARIKPO AT HIS HOME AT 7:30 P.M. LAST NIGHT. HE READ STATEMENT CAREFULLY, INDICATED HE WAS GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH IT, BUT MADE NO DETAILED COMMENT. FURTHER REACTIONS WILL BE REPORTED AS THEY DEVELOP.

2. MEANWHILE, I AM FRANKLY APPALLED AT VOA HANDLING OF THIS IMPORTANT STATEMENT. 0700 GMT BROADCAST TO AFRICA-- THE ONE MOST LIKELY TO BE LISTENED TO HERE-- DEVOTED PRECISELY TWO SENTENCES TO IT, BOTH OF WHICH MANAGED TO MISS THE POINT COMPLETELY. THERE WAS NO HINT THAT THE US GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THE DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL "REALISTIC AND REASONABLE," THAT THE FMG, IN AGREEING TO IT, HAD ACTED "CONSTRUCTIVELY AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS HUMANITARIAN RESPONSIBILITIES," OR THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS "MEET IN A REASONABLE MANNER THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY CONCERNS OF THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES." RATHER, IT LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT BIAFRAN REJECTION OF THE FLIGHTS ON SECURITY GROUNDS WAS ENTIRELY REASONABLE. THE 0600 GMT BROADCAST PROVIDED SOMEWHAT FULLER COVERAGE BUT THE PRINCIPAL THRUST OF THE STATEMENT WAS AGAIN BADLY BLURRED. IN VIEW OF

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 09864 130940Z

THE EFFORT WHICH WENT INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT AND ITS POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE BOTH IN TERMS OF US-NIGERIAN RELATIONS AND IN TERMS OF MAINTAINING PRESSURE ON BIAFRA TO AGREE TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT THE VOICE OF AMERICA SEEMS TO HAVE THROWN IT AWAY. PERHAPS IT IS NOT TOO LATE TO TAKE CORRECTIVE ACTION WITH REGARD TO BROADCASTS WHICH WILL BE HEARD HERE LATER TODAY. GP-3
TRUEHEART

NNN

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN
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191437

SUBJECT: Nigeria: Dept. Spokesman Q and A November 12

1. After announcing release of Secretary's statement ~~November 12, 1969~~

Department Spokesman said:

QUOTE Statement by Secretary makes reference, you will notice, in
third paragraph, to donation over \$65 million to international relief

25

DRAFTED BY: AF/P:WCPowell:mb	DRAFTING DATE: 11/13/69	TEL. EXT. 20322	APPROVED BY: AF/SN - Mr. Sherry
CLEARANCES: S/PRS - Mr. McCloskey (substance)			

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ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

effort. That is USG contribution. If you add to that what has been provided by voluntary agencies, figure runs to more than \$77 million.

Now at present, assistance that gets into the area is that which is flown in at night, and our people have estimated about 480 tons of relief nightly is bare minimum required UNQUOTE.

2. Subsequent Q and A included following:

QUOTE: Q. What is present night figure?

A. I'm afraid I can only say that it's not anywhere near that figure (480 tons). I don't have a specific reference.

One of the hopes would be that in absence of an agreement permitting daylight air flights Cross River scheme might be agreed to.

Other groups than Joint Church Aid, which is the one sponsoring night flights into Uli in Biafran area, is another called "Operation Africa Concern" and that is a group based in Dublin. That is flying relief into Biafra from Libreville. The JCA flights go from Sao Tome. There is some assistance provided--I don't know the schedule--also from Libreville, by French Red Cross.

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DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

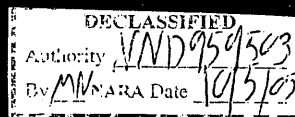
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Q. As you know, Biafran officials recently have publicly expressed displeasure with USG activities. Here's this statement from the Secretary. Do you know ~~xxx~~ what it is Biafran Government wants in regard to third party assurances, beyond those stated here by the Secretary?

A. No, I do not. We have attempted to get into the Secretary's statement everything that we know on the factual situation and to include commentary where we felt it appropriate.

Q. On page three, you are saying that Biafra has accepted Cross River scheme. Can this start immediately, or are there still some obstacles?

A. There is no agreement to implement the route. Now the contract for those vessels, I must point out, has expired. But if there were agreement between Federal Government and Biafra to implement the route, similar vessels would, of course, have to be ~~xxxxxx~~ obtained--and I am sure that could be done.

Q. Does this mean to say that the two vessels also are not more there? Somewhere in the area? They were both there for many months.]

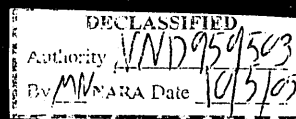
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ACTION: Page 4 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

A. They were. You are correct, and I suppose they are still there--although as I have pointed out, the contract has expired and they are to be returned to their owner. According to my information that has not yet been done.

In any case, the important point is that there is not an agreement between the two parties to implement this. If there were to be an agreement I would feel rather confident in saying that assistance could be obtained ~~xx~~ in order to provide some vessels.

Q. Coming back to recent reports saying that Biafra would accept a political solution--and these were denied and then confirmed again--does State Department have any independent information on how this stands now?

A. No, I think what you see there is everything that we know and want to say about the general situation at this time. UNQUOTE

END

ROGERS

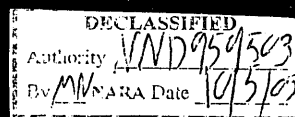
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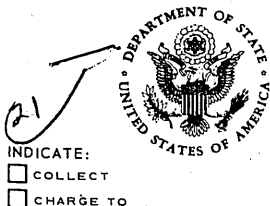
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Nigeria
H/S

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ACTION: Amembassy LISBON

INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN, DAKAR, FRANKFURT, LAGOS, LIBREVILLE

STATE

REFL LISBON 2411

SUBJECT: BIAFRA Arms Airlift

1. Dept of Commerce now making inquiry into circumstances surrounding removal of Constellation N-7776C from U.S. in view of possible violation of export license. If, as we believe, aircraft taken from U.S. under general license, reported use ^{to} of carry arms for Biafra conflict may constitute violation terms of that type of license.

2. In conversation November 12 with Commerce Department official, Zorovich of Leasing Consultants reiterated that his firm wished return of aircraft because/leasee had not conformed to conditions of lease by operating aircraft--or subleasing it to others who operated it--outside Western Hemisphere; and because/leasee, Air Cargo, Inc. of Miami, has defaulted on scheduled payments. Zorovich said Leasing Consultants, Inc. desires return of aircraft (although he did not indicate if firm's employees would actually go to Lisbon to repossess it).

DRAFTED BY:

E/OA/AVP:WSDiedrich:bl

DRAFTING DATE
11/13/69

TEL. EXT.
20827

APPROVED BY:

E/OA/AVP - Mr. Styles

CLEARANCES:

AF/E - Mr. Walker (draft)

EUR/SPP - Mr. Smith (draft)

Commerce - Mr. Simpson/

(phone)

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3. In response para 3 reftel, Embassy may inform Bailes that owner desires return of aircraft and that USG will only intercede with GOP for its release to owner or owners agent.

4. Embassy requested inform GOP of Commerce inquiry concerning aircraft and continuing desire of USG that GOP not release plane to other than owner or owners agent.

GP-3

END

ROGERS

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Department of State

POL 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria
 YR POL 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

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SECRET 784

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PAGE 01 PARIS 17633 131756Z

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ACTION SS 45

INFO OCT 01, 1946 W

129822

R 131715Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8816

S E C R E T PARIS 17633

EXDLS

DEPARTMENT PASS AS DESIRED

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALK WITH LEBEL *POL 27-14 Biafra Nigeria*

REF: LONDON 9211 POL 57-9 Biafra - Nigeria.

1. SUMMARY: QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA-MIDDLE EAST LEBEL WAS RESPONSIVE TO PROPOSITION PRESENTED BY BRUBECK ABOUT PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO NIGERIA/IBAFRA DISPUTE. THOUGH TENOR OF HIS EXPOSITION WAS POSITIVE, LEBEL OFFERED NO NEW OPENINGS IN RECOGNIZED FRENCH POSITION: GENERAL AGREEMENT ON OBJECTIVES, WILLINGNESS TO TALK FURTHER, BUT FIRM POSTURE OF REAMINING IN THE WINGS ON QUESTION OF OFFERING SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS BY BELLIGERENTS. LEGEL SAID FRANCE IS NOT IN POSITION TO MAKE ANY ADVANCE PROMISES OR COMMITMENT TO INDUCE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT COULD JOIN IN ONGOING PROJECT SHOULD ONE OCCUR. END SUMMARY

2. DIRECTOR SPECIAL STAFF NIGERIA BRUBECK MET NOV 12 WITH QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA-MID-EAST LABEL TO FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION NIGERIA/DIAFRA BETWEEN UNDER SECRETARY AND FONMIN SCHUMANN (PARIS 17552). LABEL OPENED CONVERSATION BY NOTING THAT TALK BETWEEN UNDER SECRETARY AND FONMIN CONTAINED NOTHING NEW ABOUT OUR RESPECTIVE ATTITUDES ON BIAFRA-NIGERIA CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION. BRUBECK THEN PRESENTED PROPOSAL OUTLINED REFTEL TO WHICH LABEL LISTENED CAREFULLY AND RESPONDED FULLY, ALBEIT WITHOUT ANY REAL CHANGE IN FRENCH POSITION. LABEL REMARKED THAT FRENCH AND AMERICAN OBJECTIVES ARE IN AGREEMENT, AT SAME TIME INJECTING NUANCE THAT FRENCH POSITION WAS BASED ON VIABLE SOLUTION FOR PEOPLES INVOLVED RATHER THAN INSTITUTIONS REPRESENTED.

②

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~~SECRET~~

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Department of State
TELEGRAM NIGERIA

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ACTION: Amembassy KINSHASA PRIORITY

STATE:

REF : (a) Kinshasa 6053 (b) State 181212 (Being repeated to you) (c) State 191139

SUBJ : Nigerian Developments

1. African and western governments remain interested in encouraging political settlement and we want to encourage this concern. In discussions with governments friendly to different sides, we exploring possibilities they might stimulate low-level secret contacts hopefully leading to negotiations.
2. Prefer at this stage Congolese not/~~xxxxx~~^{rpt} not be included in this initiative but, as indicated para 7 ref b, would welcome views of Mobutu and Adoula, as supporters FMG, on prospects for negotiated settlement.
3. Suggest you also bring Secretary's statement ref c to their attention
4. FYI - On relief matters, we pointing out to friends of Biafra strong public image defeat Biafra has

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:HKWalker:hjr
CLEARANCES: AF/CW - Mr. McKesson
DRAFTING DATE: 11-13-69
TEL. EXT.: 29311
APPROVED BY: AF - Amb. Witman
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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, AF 12, SS 20, NSC 10, H 02, RSR 01, RSC 01, 085 W
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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2959
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

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SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF - AMB FERGUSON'S TRIP

REF: STATE 190126

UNICEF UNABLE HOST AMB FERGUSON MORNING NOV 17 SINCE THEY
HOSTING PRINCESS MARGRETHE. HOWEVER, THEY CAN PROVIDE COMPLETE
TOUR FROM 1 - 2:30 P.M. (WE ASSUME AMB FERGUSON DEPARTS SK
403 AT 3:20 FOR GENEVA). AMB OLDENBURG OFFICE EXTENDS
INVITATION TO LUNCH AT 11:30. PLEASE ADVISE IF ABOVE O.K., ALSO
ETA.
DUDLEY

COPENHAGEN - 4405
11-13-69

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INFO: Amembassy LONDON
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Amembassy KINSHASA
US MISSION GENEVA

STATE: _____

REF : State 190531(Notal), State 190532(Notal)

SUBJ : Nigeria: Statement by Secretary

1. Dept released Secretary's statement on Nigeria to press at noon briefing November 12. Few questions asked and no special interest shown.
2. Nigerian Ambassador given copies of text. He reacted favorably and expressed appreciation although he noted last paragraph was QTE ambiguous UNQTE.
3. Canadian, British, French, German, and Norwegian Embassies informed of issuance statement and provided with copies. None had any special comments.
4. USIA/wireless file
English/French versions full text carried November 12 for Africa and English only for Europe.

END

5

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:Rwach:bjr	DRAFTING DATE 11-12-69	TEL. EXT. 23410	APPROVED BY: AF - Amb. Witman
CLEARANCES: AF/SN - Mr. Cherry	AF/P - Mr. Powell	U/CF - Mr. Foley	
S/S - Mr. Taylor			

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ACTION: Amembassy COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief - Ambassador Ferguson's Trip

REF: Copenhagen 4405

1. Amb. Ferguson accepts with appreciation Amb. Oldenburg's invitation for lunch. Re call at UNICEF, Amb. Ferguson believes preferable defer until later date. Please express regrets to UNICEF and inform that visit will be rescheduled during Amb's next trip to Copenhagen.

2. Amb. Ferguson's ETA at present is 1405 Saturday, Nov 15 on SK 502 from London.

END

(3)

ROGERJ

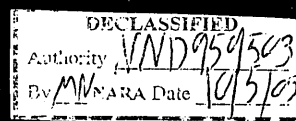
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12 Nov 69 24 19Z

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PL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

USIA/AF file November 12 will carry English/French versions full text
Secretary Rogers statement on Biafran relief. Department released
statement to U.S. press November 12.

END

ROGERS

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~~HC-1130000 GENEVA~~

12 Nov 69 20 19Z

190808

USIA file November 12 will carry full text Secretary Rogers statement on Biafran relief. Department released statement to U.S. press November 12.

END

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EUR/P - Mr. Jerabek (by phone)

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
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190532
Department of State
TELEGRAM
1A-B

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12 Nov 69 16 54Z

06/05/2017

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AmEmbassy LONDON ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ FLASH
~~XX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ AmEmbassy PARIS ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ FLASH


STATE 141

SECUN

PARIS ALSO FOR UNDER SECRETARY RICHARDSON

REF: 190531

SUBJECT: Statement on Nigeria/Biafra Relief

1. Dept plans release of Secretary's statement (reftel) on Nigeria at noon briefing Wednesday November 12. 

XXXXLONDONXXXXXXLAGOXX Inform host governments.

PARIS:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXFXHXKXFXHXHXXHXHXKXSchumanxduringtalkyscheduled~~

~~XX~~

NOTES

DRAFTED BY: *Row*
AF/SN: Rowach:ams
CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.
11-11-69	23410

APPROVED BY:
AF - David D. Newsom

S/S - Mr. Eliot *MS*

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

0460

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 950/503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

(52)



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 Biafra -
Nigeria
190531

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190531

12 Nov 69 16 54Z

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" LONDON
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" LAGOS

PARIS ALSO
~~XXXX~~ FOR UNDER SECRETARY RICHARDSON
SECUN 140

SUBJECT: Nigerian/Biafran Relief

Following is text statement to be released by
Department in Secretary's name noon Washington time
November 12, 1969. Instructions follow.

(OG/T: Please copy from attached)

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: S/S: TLEllot, Jr: jmj
DRAFTING DATE: 11/11/69
TEL. EXT: 22540
APPROVED BY: S/S - Mr. ~~XXXXXX~~
Eliot

CLEARANCES:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

S/PRS - Mr. McGloskey LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0461

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Authority: VND959503
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

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TELEGRAM

190552
POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
NIGERIA

12 Nov 69 17 34z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy COPENHAGEN
Amembassy THE HAGUE
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LONDON

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief - Hague Group

REF:- State 190512

Ambassador Ferguson's departure date Geneva should
read Friday, November 21, and London Sunday, November
23.

END.

RODERS

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:JWFoley Jr.

DRAFTING DATE
11/12/69

TEL. EXT.
23256

APPROVED BY:
U/CF:JWFoley Jr.

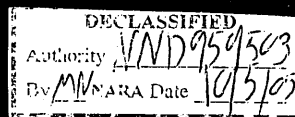
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0462





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Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM
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12 Nov 69 22 11z

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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LIBREVILLE PRIORITY

INFO: USMission GENEVA
Amembassy PARIS

State _____

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM FERGUSON.

REF Libreville 1185, 1184; Geneva 4103.

1. Current State/AID information is that all remaining ICRC PL-480 CSM/beans stocks in Cotonou/Santa Isabel totaling 8033 MT are being transferred Sao Tome for JCA shipment to Biafra, ~~(with exception 2100 MT pending USAID/Lagos agreement to make available)~~
2. Remaining 4644 MT rice does not meet urgent Biafran high protein needs and being disposed of elsewhere.
3. Stocks recently inspected and in good condition.
4. Has French Red Cross contacted JCA/Sao Tome for use other donor stocks?
5. FOR GENEVA: Suggest ICRC or LICROSS contact other donors

DRAFTED BY *WV*
U/CF:HBSHishkin

DRAFTING DATE
11/12/69

TEL. EXT.
29002

APPROVED BY:
U/CF ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
CC Ferguson, Jr. *WV*

CLEARANCES:

AFR/CW:HWilson/TKellerman (draft)
WV TK

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FORM FS-413
4-68

0463

DECLASSIFIED
Authority *VND 9503*
By *WV* NARA Date *10/3/05*



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Department of State
TELEGRAM

INDICATE:
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Page 2 of telegram to LIBREVILLE, GENEVA, PARIS

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION:

such as Norway, Netherlands, Swiss, for input high protein
foods.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

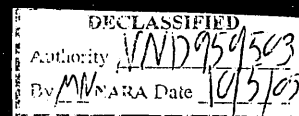
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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA
190512 NIGERIA

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12 NOV 69 16 00Z

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ACTION: US Mission GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy COPENHAGEN
 Amembassy THE HAGUE
 Amembassy LAGOS
 Amembassy LONDON

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief - Hague Group

REF: Geneva 4093 (NOTAL)

1. Light of reftel Amb. Ferguson's itinerary revised as follows:

Fri. Nov. 14 - Lv DC - PM
 Sat. Nov. 15 - Ar London - AM
 Lv London - AM
 Ar Copenhagen - PM
 Mon. Nov. 17 - Lv Copenhagen - PM
 Ar Geneva - PM
 Fri. Nov. 20 - Lv Geneva - AM
 Ar London - AM
 Sun. Nov. 21 - Lv London - PM
 Ar DC - PM

2. FOR COPENHAGEN: Ferguson arrives directly from London instead of from Geneva. Time in Copenhagen remains same.

FOR GENEVA: Schedule requested appointments Tuesday and _____

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:CC Ferguson, Jr.	DRAFTING DATE: 11/12/69	TEL. EXT.: 29624	APPROVED BY: U/CF:CC Ferguson, Jr.
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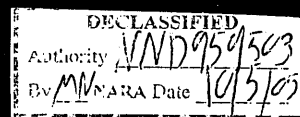
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0465





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ACTION: TO GENEVA - PAGE 2

Wednesday per reftel. Still counting on dinner with
Huydecoper Monday evening.

FOR LONDON: Will be available to FonOffice Friday
afternoon, Saturday AM.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

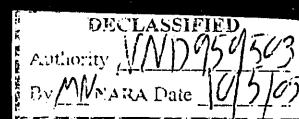
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Pac 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 563

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01184 121039Z

17
ACTION UCF 01

INFO OCT 01, SS 20, AF 05, PM 03, INR 06, NSC 10, CIAE 00, DODE 00, RSR 01,

RSC 01, SR 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /049 W

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P 120915Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2946
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L NOFORN LIBREVILLE 1184

LIMDIS

DEPT PLS RPT AS DESIRED

SUBJECT: SITUATION IN BIAFRA

REF: LIBREVILLE 1054

1. LTC. MERLE, MILITARY ADVISOR FRENCH EMBASSY HERE, GAVE US ANOTHER OF HIS PERIODIC BRIEFINGS ON BIAFRAN SITUATION 10 NOVEMBER. HIS PRINCIPAL REMARKS FOLLOW (DETAILS BY AIRGRAM).

2. ON MILITARY FRONT, MERLE SAID COMBAT ACTIVITY DURING PAST FEW WEEKS HAD BEEN PRACTICALLY NIL AND PERIMETER OF BIAFRAN REDOUBT REMAINED ALMOST UNCHANGED. ONLY REMARKABLE ACTIVITY WAS FMG SUCCESS IN REPELLING BIAFRAN ADVANCE TOWARD PORT HARCOURT, DRIVING BIAFRAN TROOPS BACK AT LEAST TEN KMS.

3. HOWEVER, MERLE SAID HE FELT CERTAIN THAT END OF RAINY SEASON WOULD HERALD CONCERTED FMG EFFORT TO OVERRUN ENCLAVE. SAID HE EXPECTED BIG NEW FMG OFFENSIVE WITHIN NEXT TEN TO FIFTEEN DAYS.

4. PICTURE SOMEWHAT BRIGHTER ON "HUMANITARIAN" SIDE, MERLE SAID, THANKS TO HARVEST OF LOCAL FOOD CROPS NOW COMING IN. AS RESULT LOCAL PRODUCTION, FOOD SITUATION NOW CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED OVER PAST FEW MONTHS. BIAFRAN DIET STILL BADLY LACKING IN PROTEIN, HOWEVER, AND RELIEF EFFORT FALLING STILL FURTHER BEHIND IN ATTEMPTS MEET THIS DEMAND.

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Authority VND959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01184 121039Z

5. MERLE NOTED WITH DISPAIR THAT FRENCH RED CROSS SUPPLIES HERE NEARLY EXHAUSTED NOW, AND WITHIN THREE DAYS FRC WILL BE FORCED SHUT DOWN OPERATION ALMOST ENTIRELY FOR LACK OF CARGO. BLAMED THIS IN PART ON ICRC FAILURE COME THROUGH WITH "PROMISED" STOCKS FROM SANTA ISABEL AND COTONOU WHICH HE SAID SPOILING IN WAREHOUSE THERE. ALSO DUE IN PART TO DOCK STRIKE IN FRANCE WHICH HAS BADLY DELAYED SHIPMENTS OF FOODSTUFFS DUE FROM EUROPE. IRONY IS THAT FRC HAS LATELY ENGAGED THIRD AIRCRAFT (SUPER G CONSTELLATION) TO SUPPLEMENT TWO DC-47S ON RELIEF RUNS.

6. DURING MONTH OF OCTOBER FRC EVACUATED 177 BIAFRAN CHILDREN, OF WHOM 120 WERE TREATED AT FRENCH MILITARY HOSPITAL HERE. SIXTEEN CHILDREN DIED FOLLOWING EVACUATION DURING MONTH.
FUNKHOUSER

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0468

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/3/05



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
190674

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12 Nov 69 21 01z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA
Amembassy COPENHAGEN

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Nigerian/Biafran Relief
FROM U/CF

Following is text statement released by Department in

Secretary's name noon Washington time November 12, 1969,
on Biafran relief:

(OC/T: Please insert attached statement by
Secretary of State)

END

7190674

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.	DRAFTING DATE 11/12/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.
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4-68

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0469

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MWA Date 10/5/05

att to
Dytl 190674

~~DEPARTMENT OF STATE~~

NOVEMBER 12, 1969

~~FOR THE PRESS~~

NO. 339

~~STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE~~
~~WILLIAM P. ROGERS~~
~~ON BIAFRAN RELIEF~~

Over the past nine months this Administration has made a major effort to help relieve the anguish and suffering of civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war. A further report on our efforts is in order.

From the beginning of this tragic event the United States has sought to support and insure an effective means of delivering relief to the sufferers on both sides.

Some of the steps this Government has taken include the appointment of a high-level Coordinator of all United States activities relating to Nigerian/Biafran relief, Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson; the donation of over \$65 million to the international relief effort; and sustained diplomatic efforts, both bilaterally and in concert with other concerned Governments, to obtain agreement on expanded international relief arrangements.

Nevertheless, relief into Biafran-held territory remains tragically inadequate.

Relief supplies now reach the Biafran enclave only at night, in insufficient amounts, by aircraft across Federally controlled territory lacking the approval of the Federal Government and originating outside Federal jurisdiction. Furthermore, following the shooting down of one of its aircraft on June 5, the International Committee of the Red Cross suspended its night flight operations which had provided roughly one half

of

PO-27-9 BIAFRAN-NOV 1969

0470

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959/503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

- 2 -

of relief supplies. ICRC flights have remained suspended since that time in view of the Federal Government's reiteration on June 30 that it could no longer permit such night flights across its territory. One major consideration cited by the Federal authorities was the intermingling at night of arms flights and relief flights into the enclave. The present arrangements for getting relief into the enclave are considered by the agencies involved to be both dangerous and inefficient.

In recent weeks, the United States has vigorously supported efforts of the ICRC to obtain agreement by both sides on a program of daylight relief flights.

On September 13, the ICRC, after extensive diplomatic efforts, concluded an agreement with the Government of Nigeria allowing an internationally-inspected and militarily-inviolable relief airlift during daylight hours for an experimental period with good prospects for renewal. The Biafran authorities, however, have refused to accept such flights--principally on the grounds that they believed they could not rely on either the Red Cross or the Federal Government to assure that the daylight airlift would not be violated by a surprise attack on the Biafran airfield, the vital terminus for their arms supply. They asked instead that they be given third party assurances as to the good faith of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

To meet this concern, at President Nixon's direction, we took the following initiatives designed to facilitate agreement on a safe and effective method of getting relief into the enclave:

We

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/3/05

- (1) We sought and received the solemn assurance of the Federal Government of Nigeria that it would ensure that no hostile military action would be taken against the ICRC relief aircraft.
- (2) After consultations with us, other governments agreed to offer impartial observers to accompany ICRC aircraft on their relief flights.
- (3) Ambassador Ferguson went to West Africa to give the Biafrans the specific pledge of the Federal Government of Nigeria as to the inviolability of the ICRC daylight relief flights.

On October 24, 1969, the Biafran authorities formally rejected this assurance.

On October 31, the Biafrans publicly announced their acceptance of an earlier U.S. plan for a surface route utilizing the Cross River in Eastern Nigeria. Under this proposal relief supplies would be delivered by ship to a mutually agreed neutralized distribution point. We have stated our willingness to resume discussions on this.

In our view however this Cross River route cannot substitute for the immediate resumption of ICRC daylight flights. Even if the plan could be promptly implemented the capacity of the river route will be greatly reduced by a low water level for several more months. The agreement of the two sides to this plan is so far in principle only and there has been no meeting of minds on the specifics of inspection and guarantees. Nevertheless, our Relief Coordinator is continuing his efforts to bring about agreement on the Cross River proposal.

Daylight flights under agreed procedures therefore remain the only practicable scheme for an immediate and substantial expansion of relief operations.

We believe that the ICRC proposal is such a realistic and reasonable scheme. We consider that the Federal Government, in agreeing to the ICRC

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MNARA
Date	10/5/05

proposal, has acted constructively and in accordance with its humanitarian responsibilities. We also believe that the proposed arrangements for daylight flights meet in a reasonable manner the legitimate security concerns of the Biafran authorities.

Innocent civilians are in desperate need of food and medical supplies. The United States stands ready to continue its aid to these helpless victims of the Nigerian war. We earnestly hope that the Biafran leadership will reconsider its position regarding daylight flights.

Beyond these immediate measures, however, we clearly recognize that the ultimate solution to the problem of relief is an end to the war. The suffering and the fighting have gone on too long. As President Nixon has said, the United States earnestly hopes for the earliest negotiated end to the conflict and a settlement that will assure the security and peaceful development of all the people involved.

* * *

0473

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

66

RNR FILES

Attention Mrs. M. A. O'Connell
Keep this study together.

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17537



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 11, 1969

Copies To:

S
S/PRS
AF
S/S-S:CMS

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Press Statement on Nigerian/
Biafran Relief

There is enclosed for your information
the text of a statement on the above subject
which the Secretary intends to release to
the press at noon, November 12, 1969.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

As stated.

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S/S:TLE:jmj

①
MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS

PO 1 27-9 BIRRA-NIGERIA

0474

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05

STATEMENT ON BIAFRAN RELIEF

Over the past nine months this Administration has made a major effort to help relieve the anguish and suffering of civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war. A further report on our efforts is in order.

From the beginning of this tragic event the United States has sought to support and insure an effective means of delivering relief to the sufferers on both sides.

Some of the steps this Government has taken include the appointment of a high-level Coordinator of all United States activities relating to Nigerian/Biafran relief, Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson; the donation of over \$65 million to the international relief effort; and sustained diplomatic efforts, both bilaterally and in concert with other concerned Governments, to obtain agreement on expanded international relief arrangements.

Nevertheless, relief into Biafran-held territory remains tragically inadequate.

Relief supplies now reach the Biafran enclave only at night, in insufficient amounts, by aircraft across Federally

0475

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/3/03

controlled territory lacking the approval of the Federal Government and originating outside Federal jurisdiction. Furthermore, following the shooting down of one of its aircraft on June 5, the International Committee of the Red Cross suspended its night flight operations which had provided roughly one half of relief supplies. ICRC flights have remained suspended since that time in view of the Federal Government's reiteration on June 30 that it could no longer permit such night flights across its territory. One major consideration cited by the Federal authorities was the intermingling at night of arms flights and relief flights into the enclave. The present arrangements for getting relief into the enclave are considered by the agencies involved to be both dangerous and inefficient.

In recent weeks, the United States has vigorously supported efforts of the ICRC to obtain agreement by both sides on a program of daylight relief flights.

On September 13, the ICRC, after extensive diplomatic efforts, concluded an agreement with the Government of Nigeria allowing an internationally-inspected and militarily-inviolable relief airlift during daylight hours for an experimental period with good prospects for renewal. The

0476

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By	MM NARA Date 10/3/05

Biafran authorities, however, have refused to accept such flights--principally on the grounds that they believed they could not rely on either the Red Cross or the Federal Government to assure that the daylight airlift would not be violated by a surprise attack on the Biafran airfield, the vital terminus for their arms supply. They asked instead that they be given third party assurances as to the good faith of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

To meet this concern, at President Nixon's direction, we took the following initiatives designed to facilitate agreement on a safe and effective method of getting relief into the enclave:

- (1) We sought and received the solemn assurance of the Federal Government of Nigeria that it would ensure that no hostile military action would be taken against the ICRC relief aircraft.
- (2) After consultations with us, other governments agreed to offer impartial observers to accompany ICRC aircraft on their relief flights.
- (3) Ambassador Ferguson went to West Africa to give the Biafrans the specific pledge of the Federal Government of Nigeria as to the inviolability of the ICRC daylight relief flights.

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

On October 24, 1969, the Biafran authorities formally rejected this assurance.

On October 31, the Biafrans publicly announced their acceptance of an earlier U.S. plan for a surface route utilizing the Cross River in Eastern Nigeria. Under this proposal relief supplies would be delivered by ship to a mutually agreed neutralized distribution point. We have stated our willingness to resume discussions on this.

In our view however this Cross River route cannot substitute for the immediate resumption of ICRC daylight flights. Even if the plan could be promptly implemented the capacity of the river route will be greatly reduced by a low water level for several more months. The agreement of the two sides to this plan is so far in principle only and there has been no meeting of minds on the specifics of inspection and guarantees. Nevertheless, our Relief Coordinator is continuing his efforts to bring about agreement on the Cross River proposal.

Daylight flights under agreed procedures therefore remain the only practicable scheme for an immediate and substantial expansion of relief operations.

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

-5-

We believe that the ICRC proposal is such a realistic and reasonable scheme. We consider that the Federal Government, in agreeing to the ICRC proposal, has acted constructively and in accordance with its humanitarian responsibilities. We also believe that the proposed arrangements for daylight flights meet in a reasonable manner the legitimate security concerns of the Biafran authorities.

Innocent civilians are in desperate need of food and medical supplies. The United States stands ready to continue its aid to these helpless victims of the Nigerian war. We earnestly hope that the Biafran leadership will reconsider its position regarding daylight flights.

Beyond these immediate measures, however, we clearly recognize that the ultimate solution to the problem of relief is an end to the war. The suffering and the fighting have gone on too long. As President Nixon has said, the United States earnestly hopes for the earliest negotiated end to the conflict and a settlement that will assure the security and peaceful development of all the people involved.

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

~~PROPOSED~~ STATEMENT ON BIAFRAN RELIEF

Over the past nine months this Administration has made a major effort to help relieve the anguish and suffering of civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war. A further report on our efforts is in order.

From the beginning of this tragic event ~~this Government~~ *the United States* has sought to support and insure an effective means of delivering relief to the sufferers on both sides.

Some of the steps this Government has taken include the appointment of a high-level Coordinator of all United States activities relating to Nigerian/Biafran relief, Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson; the donation of over \$65 million to the international relief effort; and sustained diplomatic efforts, both bilaterally and in concert with other concerned Governments, to obtain agreement on expanded international relief arrangements.

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Relief supplies now reach the Biafran enclave only at night, in insufficient amounts, by aircraft across Federally controlled territory lacking the approval of the Federal Government and originating outside Federal jurisdiction. Furthermore, following the shooting down of one of its aircraft on June 5, the International Committee of the Red Cross suspended its night flight operations which

0480

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

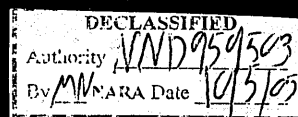
had provided roughly one half of relief supplies. ICRC flights have remained suspended since that time in view of the Federal Government's reiteration on June 30 that it could no longer permit such night flights across its territory. One major consideration cited by the Federal authorities was the intermingling at night of arms flights and relief flights into the enclave. The present arrangements for getting relief into the enclave are considered by the agencies involved to be both dangerous and inefficient.

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To meet this concern, at President Nixon's direction, we

0481



took the following ~~unusual~~ initiatives designed to facilitate agreement on a safe and effective method of getting relief into the enclave:

- (1) We sought and received the solemn assurance of the Federal Government of Nigeria that it would ensure that no hostile military action would be taken against the ICRC relief aircraft.
- (2) After consultations with us, other governments agreed to offer impartial observers to accompany ICRC aircraft on their relief flights.
- (3) ~~(Our relief coordinator,)~~ Ambassador Ferguson, went ~~personally~~ to West Africa to give the Biafrans the specific assurance of the United States ~~that we accepted the good faith and solemn pledge of the Federal Government of Nigeria as to the inviolability of the ICRC daylight relief flights.~~ *concerning the*

On October 24, 1969, the Biafran authorities formally rejected this assurance.

On October 31, the Biafrans publicly announced their acceptance of an earlier U.S. plan for a surface route utilizing the Cross River in Eastern Nigeria. Under this proposal relief supplies would be delivered by ship to a mutually agreed neutralized distribution point. We have

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

stated our willingness to resume discussions on this.

In our view however this Cross River route cannot substitute for the immediate resumption of ICRC daylight flights. Even if the plan could be promptly implemented the capacity of the river route will be greatly reduced by a low water level for several more months. The agreement of the two sides to this plan is so far in principle only and there has been no meeting of minds on the specifics of inspection and guarantees. Nevertheless, our Relief Coordinator is continuing his efforts to bring about agreement on the Cross River proposal.

Daylight flights under agreed procedures therefore remain the only practicable scheme for an immediate and substantial expansion of relief operations.

We believe that the ICRC proposal is such a realistic and reasonable scheme. We consider that the Federal Government, in agreeing to the ICRC proposal, has acted constructively and in accordance with its humanitarian responsibilities. We also believe that the proposed arrangements for daylight flights, ~~together with the assurances of the United States Government~~ meet in a reasonable manner the legitimate security concerns of the Biafran authorities.

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05

Innocent civilians are in desperate need of food and medical supplies. The United States stands ready to continue its aid to these helpless victims of the Nigerian war. We earnestly hope ~~and request~~ that the Biafran leader--ship ^{will} reconsider its position regarding daylight flights.

Beyond these immediate measures, however, ^{you} clearly recognize that the ultimate solution to the problem of relief is an end to the war. The suffering and the fighting have gone on too long. As President Nixon has said, the United States earnestly hopes for the earliest negotiated end to the conflict and a settlement that will assure the security and peaceful development of all the people involved.

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA
190457

NIGERIA

11 Nov 69 21 02Z

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ACTION: AmEmbassy LONDON IMMEDIATE
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AmEmbassy PARIS "

STATE
SECUN 131
SUBJECT: Under Secretary Talking Points on Nigeria for Paris
REF: London 9211

EXDIS

ROME FOR UNDERSECRETARY'S PARTY

Following additional points suggested by NSC staff forwarded
for possible incorporation your talking points:

1. Addition to para 2: We share with French concern safety Biafran population and desire that obviously gifted Ibos continue contribute/progressive development West Africa. But we fail to see how military solution - neither Federal victory prostrating Ibo elite nor Federal collapse spawning instability, xenophobia, new irredentism - can serve these concerns and desires.
2. Re Para 4(A): If HIM initiative again unsuccessful (which we believe likely), three powers should move ahead promptly explore on own initiative approach to second

DRAFTED BY: AF:DDNewsom:ams	DRAFTING DATE 11-11-69	TEL. EXT. 22530	APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newsom
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CLEARANCES:

s/s - Mr. Elliot

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0485

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: Page 2 to London, Rome, Lagos, Paris

level talks.

3. Re para 4(b): Personnel and direct participation such presence, of course, necessarily Africans drawn friends both sides. We have in mind three power contribution limited to diplomatic impetus, financial and material support, and expressing necessary political assurances.

But this clearly subject further exploration.

4. Re para 5: We not repeat not entering this initiative with France and UK to impose particular settlement on Biafrans or FMG. Our purpose not intervention assure any territorial or constitutional scheme. On contrary, President Nixon has directed this initiative in spirit scrupulous even-handedness. Our goal is simply to see if any prospect exists to obtain negotiated settlement in lieu of alternative outcomes inimical to interests all concerned.

ROGERS

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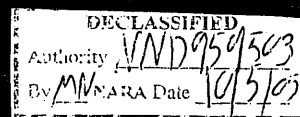
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POL 27-9 BIACRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LIBREV 01185 121038Z

17
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, ID 13, EUR 20, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, 9

DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PPS 01

SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 125 W

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P 120925Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2947
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1185

FOR AMB FERGUSON FROM FUNKHOUSER

SUBJECT: EXHAUSTED FRENCH RED CROSS SUPPLIES

REF: LIBREVILLE 1184

CAN'T SOMETHING MORE BE DONE ON EMERGENCY BASIS
TO GET FOOD WHICH REPORTEDLY SPOILING IN SANTA
ISABEL AND COTONOU WAREHOUSES INTO FRENCH RED
CROSS HANDS HERE? GP-4
FUNKHOUSER

LIBREVILLE-1185
11-15-69

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①

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71-



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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CONFIDENTIAL 121

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04103 121719Z

47
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, AF 12, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, 03

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, UPW 01, 154 W
..... 122550

R 121710Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3703
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4103

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: EXHAUSTED FRENCH RC SUPPLIES

REF: LIBREVILLE 1185

ICRC REP SCHAEGLER CURRENTLY IN PARIS TO NEGOTIATE TRANSFER
STOCKS NOTED IN REFTEL.
BASSIN

GENEVA - 4103
11-156

①

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18
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NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SCS 04,

SCA 01, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 154 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3693

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FOR U/CF

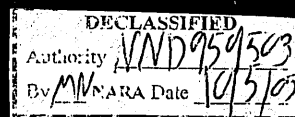
REF: STATE 189568

FREYMOND, DABNEY, BEER, CHENARD WILL BE OUT OF TOWN FRIDAY.
NO CONFIRMATION ON NAVILLE. ALL WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR YOUR
VISIT ON TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY MORNING.
BASSIN

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11-13-69

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04099 121515Z

52 41
ACTION UCF 01

INFO OCT 01, SS 20, SR 01, PM 03, AF 05, INR 06, NSC 10, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

(RSR) 01, RSC 01, /049 W

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RI 121355Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3699
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4099

LIMDIS:

SUBJECT: ICRC - NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: GENEVA 4071

1. CHARGE AND DAVIDSON MET WITH FREYMOND, BIGNAMI, BASSET AND SCHAEGLER OF ICRC. FREYMOND OUTLINED PLAN AS REPORTED REF A.

2. FREYMOND EXPLAINED THAT NEW PLAN OVER NEXT FOUR MONTHS REQUIRE TWO MILLION DOLLAR DONATION FROM USG, OR 25 PERCENT OF WHAT WE GAVE BEFORE. ICRC PLANS TO REQUEST ASSISTANCE FROM SWISS GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS AS WELL. COMMITTEE EXPECTS TO PRESENT WRITTEN PLAN AND BUDGET IN NEXT FEW DAYS.

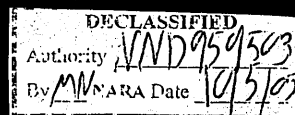
3. FREYMOND REPEATED THAT ICRC FINDS IT NECESSARY ASK USG FOR NEARLY ONE MILLION DOLLARS FOR LSM OPERATION (WRITTEN REQUEST AND FINANCIAL REPORT TO FOLLOW).

4. IN REPLY TO CHARGE'S QUESTION FREYMOND STATED THAT PLAN REF A IS A CONTINGENCY, BIGNAMI LEAVING TODAY TO DISCUSS WITH FMG. BIGNAMI ADDED THAT HE HAS TOLD FMG THAT ICRC USING UCA TO SUPPLY MEDICAL TEAMS WITH NOT MORE THAN 15 MT OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND FOOD NIGHTLY. FMG, BIGNAMI, EXPLAINED MUST UNDERSTAND ICRC HUMANITARIAN MISSION. HE WILL ADVISE FMG THAT ICRC MUST DISPOSE OF STOCKS AND THAT NEW CARRIERS WILL COME TO WAREHOUSES TO PICK UP GOODS. HE WILL EXPLAIN THAT ICRC ABIDING BY PROMISE NOT TO FLY. ICRC WOULD BE PLEASED HOWEVER TO RECEIVE

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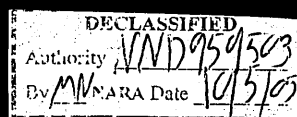
PAGE 02 GENEVA 04099 121515Z

THESE GOODS AT ULI IF OTHER CARRIERS WILLING TO FLY THEM.

COMMENT: SUPPLIES WOULD BE FUNNELED THROUGH EXISTING CARRIERS,
THROUGH INCREASES IN FLYING CAPACITY OF JCS, OR THROUGH NEW
CARRIERS AND AGENCIES.
BASSIN

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POL 27-9 BIAFRANIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09852 121808Z

43

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCA 01, SCS 04, ORM 03, SR 01,

AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 160 W
122841

R 121636Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9906
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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SUBJ: PRESS REACTION TO PRIME MINISTER WILSON'S STATEMENT
ON RELIEF FLIGHTS

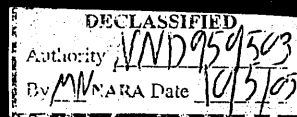
1. PM WILSON STATEMENT EVENING NOV 10 AT LORD MAYOR'S
BANQUET GIVEN FRONT-PAGE TREATMENT BY FMG-OWNED POST,
OBSERVER AND PILOT. POST IN PARTICULAR GIVES FULL ACCOUNT
OF POINTS MADE BY WILSON THAT CONTINUED REJECTION OF DAYLIGHT
FLIGHTS BY OJUKWU "COMPELLED" HIM AND OTHERS TO BELIEVE
OJUKWU WAS NOT ONLY SACRIFICING FOOD TO ARMS-RUNNING
BUT ALSO USING STARVING CHILDREN AND PEOPLE "AS RAWNS IN
POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRUGGLE".

2. COMMENT: POST'S TREATMENT OF SPEECH INDICATES THAT FMG
PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT WILSON HAS COME OUT WITH STATEMENT
WHICH SQUARELY PUTS BLAME FOR REJECTION OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS
ON REBELS. EXEMPT FROM DECONTROL.
TRUEHEART

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ACTION: AmEmbassy ROME

IMMEDIATE

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STATE 190461

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SECUN 133

REF: STATE 190258

FOR UNDER SECRETARY FROM ELIOT

It is possible but not rpt not definite that
along lines
statement on Biafran relief/contained reftel will be
released to press by Department at noon briefing
Wednesday November 12. You will wish have this in
mind when you talk with Schuman.

END

NODIS REVIEW

- Cat. A - Caption removed;
transferred to O/FADRC
- Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC
with additional access
controlled by S/S
- Cat. C - Caption and custody
retained by S/S

Reviewed by: Ambassador W. Wilmon, II

Date: 4/15/75

ROGERS

Drafted by:

S/S: TLEliot, Jr. 11/11/69

Tel. Ext.

22540

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: S/S - Mr. Theodore L. Eliot

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Authority VND 959503
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ACTION: Amembassy PARIS

PRIORITY

INFO : Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LONDON
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EXDIS

STATE

SECUN 115

SUBJECT: Under Secretary's Talking Points on Nigeria for Paris

A) London 9178; B) London 9217; C) London 9211; D) Rome 7251

1. Dept can add little to excellent talking points proposed ref ^B C, but believe Under Secretary should consider when discussing possible African mediator whether, in view British attitude (ref ^B and ^C), it would also be useful explore with French ways of encouraging initiation direct second-level talks.

2. Proposed US statement (State 189587) on Biafran rejection ICRC daylight flights under further revision for possible issuance by Secretary on Wednesday, Nov. 12. New text being sent to field so that statement can be discussed by Under Secretary with French and passed to British and Nigerian governments prior issuance.

Gp-1

END

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S/S - Mr. Brown

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PAGE 01 LIBREV 01182 101555Z

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ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 20, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, UCF 05,

UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, ACDA 16, MC 02, RSR 01, /178 W

110575

R 101500Z NOV 69

FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2944

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1182

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

REF: SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS SINCE NOVEMBER 3;
DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTLY NOVEMBER 3 THROUGH 7 (5 FLIGHTS).

2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS SINCE NOVEMBER 3:

A. DC-4 F-BRHE NIGHTLY NOVEMBER 4 THROUGH 8 (5 FLIGHTS)

B. DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHTLY NOVEMBER 3 THROUGH 8 (6 FLIGHTS)

C. CONSTELLATION F-BRAD NIGHTS NOVEMBER 3, 4, 5, AND 7
(4 FLIGHTS)

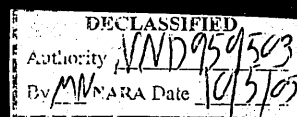
D. DC-6 OO-GER NIGHTS NOVEMBER 3 THROUGH 5 AND NOVEMBER
7 THROUGH 9 (6 FLIGHTS)

3. REMARKS:

A. DC-6 TR-LOX, WHICH SAT UNMOVED IN MILITARY AREA FOR
BETTER PART OF LAST WEEK (LIBREVILLE 1168 PARA 3B),
NOW MOVED TO CIVILIAN AREA WHERE IT IS IN PROCESS BEING
COMPLETELY REPAINTED.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01182 101555Z

B. TWO DC-6 AIRCRAFT, REG. NOS. 64PK AND 64PL AND BEARING WHAT APPEARED BE FRENCH MILITARY MARKINGS, HAVE POPPED FREQUENTLY IN AND OUT OF LIBREVILLE DURING PAST WEEK, ALWAYS IN ALTERNATION. AIRCRAFT PARK IN MILITARY AREA, BUT NO CARGO OBSERVED BEING LOADED OR UNLOADED. PLANES ARE BOTH PAINTED WHITE WITH BLUE STRIP RUNNING LENGTH OF FUSELAGE SIDES.

4. RESUME:

A. WEEK OF OCTOBER 20: 16 ARMS FLIGHTS, 18 RELIEF FLIGHTS

B. WEEK OF OCTOBER 27: 9 ARMS FLIGHTS, 11 RELIEF FLIGHTS

C. WEEK OF NOVEMBER 3: 5 ARMS FLIGHTS, 21 RELIEF FLIGHTS.

GP-4

FUNKHOUSER

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Authority VMD 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COPENH 04378 101634Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 20, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, OIC 05,

SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, RSR 01, 155 W

110896

R 101609Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2951
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
US MISSION GENEVA 131
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE COPENHAGEN 4378

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF-FERGUSON TRIP

REF: STATE 189568

1. FONOFF WOULD APPRECIATE MORE SPECIFIC INFO AS TO WHOM AMB FERGUSON WISHES SEE IN COPENHAGEN RE RELIEF DRUG PROGRAM. WOULD THIS INCLUDE LOCAL RED CROSS, JCA OR ANYONE ELSE? FONOFF OFFICIALS, PROBABLY INCLUDING DEP UNSEC OLDENBURG, WOULD ALSO LIKE MEET WITH AMB FERGUSON IF TIME AVAILABLE.

2. TWO SINGLES RESERVED ROYAL HOTEL.
BLANKINSHIP

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COPENHAGEN - 4378
11-10-69

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/3/05

37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 884

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04083 101733Z

53
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, AF 12, RSR 01, UPW 01, /154 W
----- 111246

PIR 101801Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3683
INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4083

STATE FOR UYCF

SUBJECT: HAGUE GROUP MEETING

REF: STATE 189566

NETHERLANDS: REPI INFORMS THAT HAGUE GROUP MEETING WILL BE
AT 1000 HRS. 18 NOVEMBER AT NETHERLANDS MISSION. NO RPT NO
AGENDA AT THIS TIME. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF CURRENT RELIEF
DEADLOCK ANTICIPATED. FURTHER INFORMED THAT HUYDECOPER
ACCEPTS YOUR INVITATION FOR DINNER 17 NOV AT 2000.
BASSIN

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X

Geneva 4083
11-10-69

0500

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Authority VND 959503
By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

190258

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11 NOV 69 0124Z

Origin: ACTION: AmEmbassy ROME SECUN PRIORITY
Info: INFO: Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy LONDON

~~NOTE~~
SECUN 112
FOR ABRAMOWITZ FROM STEMPER
LONDON FOR BRUBECK
STATE 190258

REF: State 189587

NODIS REVIEW	
Cat. A - Caption removed;	<i>Mike</i>
transferred to O/FADRC	
Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC	
with additional access	
controlled by S/S	
Cat. C - Caption and custody	
retained by S/S	
Reviewed by: Ambassador W. Witman, II	
Date: 4/15	1975

Following is FYI for the Under Secretary. It is further revision of statement now being considered for issuance by the Secretary on date not yet determined. No action should be taken until further advised from here.

(CODE ROOM: Please repeat attached statement.)

~~SECRET: Tomorrow's holiday we have recommended that statement~~
~~if approved be issued on Wednesday, November 12, noon briefing~~
~~We are mindful of Under Secretary's appointment with Foreign~~
~~Minister Schumann and Under Secretary's expressed preference~~
~~that statement if possible be issued prior to his call on~~
~~French on November 12. We do not yet know how soon statement~~
~~will be approved but hope approval might be forthcoming.~~

END

Drafted by: *by Owe* U:JStempel/\$/PC:CWRuser 11/10/69 Tel. Ext. Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - David Newsom
Clearances: S/S - Mr. Taylor
~~XXX~~

SECRET
Classification

FORM DS-322

0501

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Authority: VMD 950503
By: MN NARA Date: 10/3/05

Pol 27-9 BIAFRA - Nigeria

PROPOSED STATEMENT ON BIAFRAN RELIEF

Over the past nine months this Administration has made a major effort to help relieve the anguish and suffering of civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war. A further report on our efforts is in order.

From the beginning of this tragic event this Government has sought to support and insure an effective means of delivering relief to the sufferers on both sides.

Some of the steps this Government has taken include the appointment of a high-level Coordinator of all United States activities relating to Nigerian/Biafran relief, Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson; the donation of over \$65 million to the international relief effort; and sustained diplomatic efforts, both bilaterally and in concert with other concerned Governments, to obtain agreement on expanded international relief arrangements.

Nevertheless, relief into Biafran-held territory remains tragically inadequate.

Relief supplies now reach the Biafran enclave only at night, in insufficient amounts, by aircraft across Federally controlled territory lacking the approval of the Federal Government and originating outside Federal jurisdiction. Furthermore, following the shooting down of one of its aircraft on June 5, the International Committee of the Red Cross suspended its night flight operations which

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

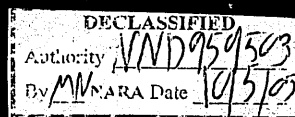
had provided roughly one half of relief supplies. ICRC flights have remained suspended since that time in view of the Federal Government's reiteration on June 30 that it could no longer permit such night flights across its territory. One major consideration cited by the Federal authorities was the intermingling at night of arms flights and relief flights into the enclave. The present arrangements for getting relief into the enclave are considered by the agencies involved to be both dangerous and inefficient.

In recent weeks, the United States has vigorously supported efforts of the ICRC to obtain agreement by both sides on a program of daylight relief flights.

On September 13, the ICRC, after extensive diplomatic efforts, concluded an agreement with the Government of Nigeria allowing an internationally-inspected and militarily-inviolable relief airlift during daylight hours for an experimental period with good prospects for renewal. The Biafran authorities, however, have refused to accept such flights--principally on the grounds that they believed they could not rely on either the Red Cross or the Federal Government to assure that the daylight airlift would not be violated by a surprise attack on the Biafran airfield, the vital terminus for their arms supply. They asked instead that they be given third party assurances as to the good faith of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

To meet this concern, at President Nixon's direction, we

0503



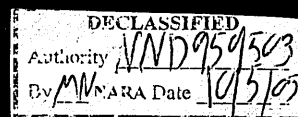
took the following unusual initiatives designed to facilitate agreement on a safe and effective method of getting relief into the enclave:

- (1) We sought and received the solemn assurance of the Federal Government of Nigeria that it would ensure that no hostile military action would be taken against the ICRC relief aircraft.
- (2) After consultations with us, other governments agreed to offer impartial observers to accompany ICRC aircraft on their relief flights.
- (3) Our relief coordinator, Ambassador Ferguson, went personally to West Africa to give the Biafrans the specific assurance of the United States that we accepted the good faith and solemn pledge of the Federal Government of Nigeria as to the inviolability of the ICRC daylight relief flights.

On October 24, 1969, the Biafran authorities formally rejected this assurance.

On October 31, the Biafrans publicly announced their acceptance of an earlier U.S. plan for a surface route utilizing the Cross River in Eastern Nigeria. Under this proposal relief supplies would be delivered by ship to a mutually agreed neutralized distribution point. We have

0504



stated our willingness to resume discussions on this.

In our view however this Cross River route cannot substitute for the immediate resumption of ICRC daylight flights. Even if the plan could be promptly implemented the capacity of the river route will be greatly reduced by a low water level for several more months. The agreement of the two sides to this plan is so far in principle only and there has been no meeting of minds on the specifics of inspection and guarantees. Nevertheless, our Relief Coordinator is continuing his efforts to bring about agreement on the Cross River proposal.

Daylight flights under agreed procedures therefore remain the only practicable scheme for an immediate and substantial expansion of relief operations.

We believe that the ICRC proposal is such a realistic and reasonable scheme. We consider that the Federal Government, in agreeing to the ICRC proposal, has acted constructively and in accordance with its humanitarian responsibilities. We also believe that the proposed arrangements for daylight flights, together with the assurances of the United States Government, meet in a reasonable manner the legitimate security concerns of the Biafran authorities.

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By MWA Date 10/5/05

Innocent civilians are in desperate need of food and medical supplies. The United States stands ready to continue its aid to these helpless victims of the Nigerian war. We earnestly hope and request that the Biafran leadership reconsider its position regarding daylight flights.

Beyond these immediate measures, however, I clearly recognize that the ultimate solution to the problem of relief is an end to the war. The suffering and the fighting have gone on too long. As President Nixon has said, the United States earnestly hopes for the earliest negotiated end to the conflict and a settlement that will assure the security and peaceful development of all the people involved.

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

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Authority: VND 954/503
By: MN NARA Date: 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

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PAGE 01 THE HA 04368 101843Z

47

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 20, IO 13, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PPS 01, SS 20, USIA 12,

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111663

RI 101600Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4750
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4368

FOR UUCF

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF HAGUE GROUP MEETING

REF: STATE 189566

1. HUYDECOPER LOOKS FORWARD TO DINNER WITH FERGUSON NOV. 17 IN GENEVA. WE SUGGESTED TO HUYDECOPER EXACT TIME AND PLACE COULD BE WORKED OUT BY RESPECTIVE MISSIONS IN GENEVA.

2. ARRANGEMENTS FOR MEETING HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT ALTERED SINCE LAST REPORT. HUYDECOPER SAID SCANDINAVIANS OBJECTED TO ICRC'S CALLING MEETING, POINTING OUT THIS MIGHT LEAD TO JCA'S DOING SAME. AS RESULT ICRC HAS AGREED INVITATIONS WILL BE SIGNED BY DUTCH. HUYDECOPER INTENDS CALL MEETING FOR 10 A.M. NOV. 18 AT NETHS MISSION GENEVA. GRA BOVEY

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*The Hague - 4368
11-10-69*

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM

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☐ CHARGE TO

31

10 NOV 69 23 48Z

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ACTION: Amembassy COPENHAGEN

State _____

REF State 189568.

1. Ambassador Ferguson specifically ~~interested in~~ ^{wishes to visit}
~~visiting~~ UNICEF Packing and Assembly Center, and ~~meet~~
~~meeting~~ with UNICEF officials (Arne Jensen and others).

Please arrange if possible for Monday morning

Nov 17.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: 1.32 U/CF:HBSHishkin	DRAFTING DATE 11/10/69	TEL. EXT. 29002	APPROVED BY: C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr. <i>Cef 11/10/69</i>
CLEARANCES:			

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FORM FS-413
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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09211 01 OF 02 101550Z

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ACTION SS 45

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 LONDON 9211

EXDIS

ROME FOR UNDERSECRETARY'S PARTY

SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY TALKING POINTS ON NIGERIA FOR PARIS
POLITICAL

1. WE BELIEVE TIME HAS COME FOR MORE ACTIVE COOPERATIVE
ROLE BY US, FRANCE, AND UK IN TRYING TO GET CONSTRUCTIVE
NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIANS AND BIAFRANS. WISH TO EXPLORE
THIS WITH SCHUMANN AND HAVE TALKS WITH UK FONMIN STEWARD
ALONG SAME LINES.

2. WE CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS ON RELIEF BUT PROSPECTS FOR
SATISFACTORY SOLUTION NOT ENCOURAGING. ONLY ANSWER TO
RELIEF PROBLEM IS POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. WITHOUT SETTLEMENT
MOST LIKELY PROSPECT IS PROTRACTED WAR OF ATTRITION,
EVENTUAL FMG OVER-RUN OF ENCLAVE, WITH POTENTIAL FOR CHAOS
AND VIOLENCE HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE FROM EVERYONE POINT OF
VIEW. ONLY BIAFRAN HOPE IS FOR POLITICAL COLLAPSE LAGOS
BUT THIS UNLIKELY. HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE ALTERNATIVES
(ABOVE) SEEM TO US WARRANT MORE ACTIVE ROLE US-FRANCE-UK
TO HELP GET SETTLEMENT. IN SPITE HIGH LEVEL PRESENT AFRICAN
INTEREST AND PRESSURE OFR SETTLEMENT, ATTEMPTS SO FAR UNSUCCESSFUL.

3. BOTH SIDES PROFESS WILLINGNESS FOR UNCONDITIONAL
SECOND-LEVEL TALKS; FOR THESE TO SUCCEED WE BELIEVE THEY

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NEED BETTER PLANNING AND OUTSIDE SUPPORT THAN PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS. BOTH SIDES SHOWING SOME SIGNS INCREASED FLEXIBILITY. APPEARS SERIOUS MOVE NOW UNDERWAY ON EMPEROR'S INITIATIVE FOR SECOND-LEVEL TALKS. WHAT ARE FRENCH VIEWS: PRESENT SITUATION AND PROSPECTS?

4. SINCE OUTSIDE SUPPORT AND CONTRIBUTION FOR NEGOTIATIONS PROBABLY ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS, BELIEVE US-FRANCE-UK SHOULD SEEK BASIS OF UNDERSTANDING FOR COOPERATION. WHILE DIFFERENCES EXIST ON MOST DESIRABLE ULTIMATE SOLUTION, E.G. FORM OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION, SEEMS POSSIBLE WE AGREE ON URGING BOTH SIDES TO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AND WILLINGNESS ACCEPT WHATEVER POLITICAL SOLUTION THEY AGREE TO. OUR ROLE WOULD BE FACILITATE AND ENCOURAGE AGREEMENT, HELP AS APPROPRIATE, E.G. ON OUTSIDE CONSORTIUM TO HELP BIAFRANS MEET SECURITY PROBLEM, WE THINKING ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A) IF PRESENT INITIATIVE FORTALKS THROUGH HIM SUCCESSFUL, WE SHOULD EXPLORE WITH HOUPHUE ET AND HIM HOW WE CAN BE HELPFUL, E. G. BY TALKING TO TWO PARTIES, IF DEVELOPMENTS WARRANT, EXPLORE WITH THEM POSSIBILITY OF GETTING SKILLED AFRICAN MEDIATOR TO CONDUCT SECOND LEVEL TALKS WITH PROMISE OF FRENCH-US-UK AS WELL AS AFRICAN SUPPORT.

B) THREE POWERS SHOULD BE PREPARED OFFER AT APPROPRIATE TIME ASSISTANCE IN PROVIDING "INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE" PACKAGE TOWARD MEETING SECURITY PROBLEM AS POSSIBLY NECESSARY PRIOR CONDITION TO SERIOUS CONSORTIUM AND PROVIDING MATERIAL AND DIPLOMATIC ASSISTANCE FOR THIS.

C) IN CONNECTION WITH CONSORTIUM, CONSIDER USEFULNESS AT APPROPRIATE POINT OF OFFER OF SUBSTANTIAL INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES CONTRIBUTION FOR RELIEF, RESETTLEMENT, AND RECONSTRUCTION TO MEET CONCERNS RELATED TO SECURITY.

5. WOULD EMPHASIZE WE PROPOSING COOPERATION ONLY ON MODALITIES PLUS SPECIFICS ON WHICH OUTSIDE HELP NECESSARY. ROLE WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL AND INDIRECT, NOT INTRUDE INTO AFRICAN ROLE, AND SEEK ONLY FACILITATE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN TWO PARTIES WITHOUT PREJUDICING SUBSTANCE AGREEMENT THEY MAY REACH. WHILE EXPRESSING

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The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with a shield, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head. The text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" is arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it, separated by two small stars.

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CONCERN AFRICAN SENSITIVITIES ABOUT OUTSIDE INTRUSION (WHICH WE SHARE) BRITISH HAVE INDICATED AGREEMENT OUR ASSESSMENT PRESENT SITUATION AND NEED ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE SETTLEMENT IN ORDER AVOID PROSPECTIVE WORSE ALTERNATIVES. WHILE BRITISH PREFERENCE OBVIOUSLY ONE NIGERIA, THEY SEEM PREPARED ENCOURAGE FMG NEGOTIATE AND LEAVE SUBSTANCE OF SETTLEMENT TO PARTIES. IF OUKWU DEMONSTRATES SERIOUS INTEREST, WOULD APPRECIATE FRENCH REACTIONS ABOVE GENERAL OUTLINE.

6. DO FRENCH THINK FEASIBLE WE AND THEY TALK EMPERIOR AND HOUPHUET RE CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE AS ABOVE? IF OPPORTUNITY FOR MODERATOR ROLE DEVELOPS, DO THEY THINK FEASIBLE ATTEMPT GET HOUPHUET AND HIM TO JOIN WITH US TO IDENTIFY AND SUPPORT SUITABLE MAN? POSSIBLE CANDIDATES? WHAT IS FRENCH VIEW ON IMPORTANCE OF OUTSIDE OFFER ON OBSERVER FORCE AND RESOURCES AS HELPING FACILITATE AGREEMENT BY EASING SECURITY AND RELATED CONCERNS?

7. IF FRANCE SEES POSSIBLE USEFULNESS, WE WOULD PROPOSE FURTHER STAFF WORK TO TRY TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC BASE IN NEXT FEW WEEKS ON WHICH FRENCH-US-UK MIGHT PROCEED ALONG ABOVE LINES. WOULD THEN HOPE FOR FURTHER MEETING TO AGREE ON ACTIONS. BRITISH AGREEABLE THIS FURTHER EXPLORATION AND WE HOPE THEY AND FRENCH COULD DISCUSS BILATERALLY. FRENCH REACTION?

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ROME FOR UNDERSECRETARY'S PARTY

SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY TALKING POINTS ON NIGERIA FOR PARIS
RELIEF

8. ICRC FLIGHTS: AS OF KNOWS WE MADE ONE FINAL EFFORT
MEET BIAFRAN SECURITY CONCERN. IN ORDER HELP ICRC GET
AGREEMENT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. BIAFRA REJECTED OUR OFFER
AND ICRC PLAN. (IF US STATEMENT NOT YET MADE:
AS WE INFORMED BIAFRANS WE PROBABLY BE OBLIGED SOON MAKE
PUBLIC STATEMENT REPORTING ICRC AND US EFFORTS AND
BIAFRAN REJECTION.) BIAFRAN APPEAR DETERMINED KEEP
FLIGHTS ON NIGHT BASIS ONLY, AS ARMS FLIGHT COVER. WE
HOPE LEARN ICRC THINKING THIS WEEK ON FURTHER EFFORT GET
BIAFRAN AGREEMENT DAY FLIGHTS BUT PROSPECTS DIM.

9. JCA: AMERICAN AND SOME OTHER COMPONENTS PRESSING FOR
BIAFRAN AGREEMENT JCA LEGAL DAYLIGHT PROGRAM, IN VIEW
HAZARDOUS AND UNCERTAIN FUTURE NIGHT FLIGHTS. THEY
EXPLORING WITH FMG AND BIAFRANS BUT BASIC PROBLEM APPEAR
SAME AS WITH ICRC.

10. CROSS RIVER: BOTH SIDES AGREED (IN PRINCIPLE) BUT
NEITHER REALLY PREPARED IMPLEMENT. IN LIGHT RECENT
BIAFRAN "PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE" CROSS RIVER, FERGUSON PREPARING
RESUME DISCUSSIONS WITH TWO SIDES IN HOPE THEY

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WILL SHOW MORE FLEXIBILITY. WE SKEPTICAL HOWEVER TWO SIDE CAN AGREE.

1. SUMMARY: IN ABSENCE SOME BREAKTHROUGH ON ABOVE PLANS, WHICH UNLIKELY, RELIEF SITUATION WILL PROBABLY DETERIORATE WITH RESULTING PRESSURES ON DONOR GOVERNMENTS AND RELIEF AGENCIES. BIAFRANS AWARE THEIR ATTITUDE HAS HURT INTERNATIONAL POSITION BUT DETERMINED RESIST DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. FMG HAS GAINED INTERNATIONALLY FROM FORTHCOMING POSITION ICRC AND UCA. WE HAVE EXPRESS STRONGLY TO BIAFRA OUR REGRET THEIR REFUSAL DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, BELIEVE ICRC PLAN AND US ASSURANCES REASONABLE, AND THAT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS OFFER ONLY EARLY PROSPECT OF IMPROVING RELIEF SITUATION. BIAFRAN RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENT HAVE BEEN SHARPLY CRITICAL OF US, WILL PROBABLY BE MORE SO IF US MAKES PUBLIC STATEMENT. BELIEVE IT HIGHLY USEFUL IF FRENCH CAN INFLUENCE BIAFRANS TO MORE REALISTIC AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE. (END PROPOSED TALKING POINTS.) FOR DEPARTMENT

APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS OR REVISIONS ABOVE SENT PARIS BY OPENING OF BUSINESS NOV. 12.
HUGHES

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UNSEC 36
SUBJ: UNDER-SECRETARY-FOREIGN MINISTER STEWART CONVERSATION
NIGERIA.

1. UNDERSEC, ASST SECY HILLENBRAND, BRUBECK AND EMBOFFS SPENT 45 MINUTES ON NIGERIA WITH FONSEC STEWART, SIR JOHN JOHNSTON, AND FONOFF OFFICIALS ON NIGERIA, NOV. 7. BRUBECK AND WALKER HAD TWO HOUR FOLLOWUP SESSION WITH JOHNSTON, TERBIT, WATTS AND WILSON, REPORTED SEPT. UNDER SEC AND STEWART HAD EXTREMELY USEFUL AND CANDID EXCHANGE. STEWART, WHILE INDICATING CERTAIN PROBLEMS AND RESERVATIONS, SHOWED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN POSSIBILITY COOPERATION TOWARD ENCOURAGING NEGOTIATIONS, AND AGREED HE SHOULD EXPLORE FURTHER.

2. UNDERSEC OPENED BY GIVING US ASSESSMENT PRESENT NIGERIAN SITUATION, PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS UNDER HIM AUSPICES, AND NOTED US VIEW THAT POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ONLY REAL SOLUTION TO RELIEF PROBLEM. HE OUTLINED US THINKING RE US-UK-FRENCH COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF NEGOTIATIONS, POSSIBLE HELP ON OBSERVER PROBLEM, AND POSSIBLE INITIATIVE TO DEVELOP MEDIATOR FORMAT IF PRESENT MOVE TO DIRECT NEGOTIATION FAILS. WHILE AFFIRMING US WILLINGNESS HELP, HE REITERATED OUR DESIRE AVOID DIRECT ROLE OR INTRUSION INTO AFRICAN NEGOTIATING RESPONSIBILITY.

3. STEWART REVIEWED BRITISH ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION ON LINES CLOSE TO OUR VIEW. HE SAID THE FMG HAS NOW DEMONSTRATED

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State SECUN 9/
SUBJECT: Proposed Statement on Biafran Relief

1. Following is proposed revised statement by Secretary of State in accordance with Rogers/Newsom telcon November 7 being sent for possible consideration in time for noon release Monday:

QUOTE

/Ever since taking office President Nixon's Administration has dedicated both generous contributions and strong diplomatic efforts to relieve the anguish and suffering of civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war.

Some of the steps this Government has taken are:

-- the appointment of a high level coordinator of all U.S. activities relating to Nigerian relief, Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson, who has been working with a special

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AF/N - W. H. Brubeck 11/8/69 22026
APPROVED BY: AF - D. D. Newsom
CLEARANCES: U/CF - Amb. Ferguson
S/S - Mr. ~~XXXX~~ Hawley
AF/N - Mr. Sherry
by: C.W.R.

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staff directly under the authority of the Secretary of State;

- the donation of over \$65 million to the international relief effort, almost half of the contributions from all donors;
- sustained diplomatic efforts, both bilaterally and in concert with other concerned governments, to obtain agreement of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and the Biafran leadership to expanded international relief arrangements under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Despite these extraordinary efforts, relief into Biafran held territory remains inadequate. Relief supplies reach the Biafran enclave only by night, in insufficient amounts, by an airlift across Nigerian territory lacking the approval of the Federal Government and originating outside Nigerian jurisdiction. This situation is both dangerous

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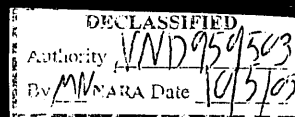
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and highly unsatisfactory.

In addition, the relief flights by the ICRC have been in suspense since June 30 when the Federal Government, because of the intermingling at night of arms flights and relief flights into the enclave, declared it could no longer permit such night flights across its territory.

* * *

Since that time the United States has vigorously supported efforts of the ICRC to obtain agreement by both sides on a program of daylight relief flights.

On September 13 the ICRC concluded an agreement with the Government of Nigeria allowing an internationally-inspected and militarily-inviolable relief airlift during daylight hours for an experimental period with excellent prospects of renewal. The Biafran authorities, however, have refused to accept such flights--principally on the grounds that they believed they could not rely on either

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the Red Cross or the Federal Government to assure that the daylight airlift would not be violated by a surprise attack on the Biafran airfield, the vital terminus for their arms supply. They asked instead that they be given ■ third-party assurances as to the good faith of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

To meet this concern, at President Nixon's direction, we took the following steps:

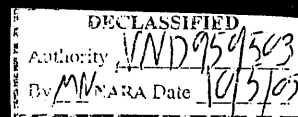
- (1) We sought and received the solemn assurance of the Federal Government of Nigeria that it would ensure that no hostile military action would be taken against the ICRC relief airlift.
- (2) After consultations with us, other governments agreed to offer impartial observers to accompany ICRC aircraft on their relief flights.
- (3) Our relief coordinator, Ambassador Ferguson, went personally to West Africa to give the Biafrans the

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specific assurance of the United States that we accepted the good faith and solemn pledge of the Federal Government of Nigeria as to the inviolability of the ICRC daylight relief flights.

On October 24, 1969, the Biafran authorities formally rejected this assurance.

We firmly believe that the ICRC proposal rejected by the Biafrans is realistic and reasonable. We consider that the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, in agreeing to the ICRC proposal, acted in statesmanlike accord with its humanitarian responsibilities. We also believe that the integrity of the ICRC, the safeguards incorporated in the ICRC relief program, and the assurances of the United States Government should adequately satisfy the legitimate security concerns of the Biafran authorities.

An earlier U.S. plan to move relief supplies by ship via the Cross River remains under discussion. However,]

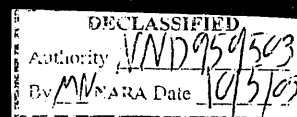
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this Cross River route in no way substitutes for the ICRC daylight flights. Even if this plan could be promptly implemented, the capacity of the river route will be reduced ~~remain/greatly/impair~~ by a low water level for several more months. The ICRC daylight flight proposal is the only immediately practicable scheme for substantially expanded relief operations.

* * *
Innocent civilians within Biafran-held territory are in desperate need of food and medical supplies. The United States stands ready to continue its aid to these helpless victims of the Nigerian war. We earnestly hope that the Biafran leadership will reconsider its position to allow prompt implementation of militarily inviolable daylight relief flights.

Beyond these immediate measures, however, I clearly recognize that the ultimate solution to the problem of relief is an end to the war. The suffering and the

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fighting have gone on too long. As President Nixon said in announcing the appointment of Ambassador Ferguson, the U.S. earnestly hopes for an early negotiated end to the conflict and a settlement that will assure the protection of peaceful development of all the people involved. END QUOTE

2. Particularly in view content and tone November 8 Washington Post story, strongly recommend Secretary issue statement to clarify record of our actions and motives.

3. Such statement is necessary because:

(a) Administration should not tolerate continued Biafran efforts to exploit humanitarian concerns of the American people for its own essentially political-military purposes. (We have incontrovertible evidence that Biafran leadership has long since reached policy decision to accept no relief arrangements other than illegal night flights, notwithstanding its public claims to ~~the~~ agreement in principle to various schemes.)

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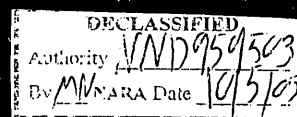
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(b) In recent days Ojukwu personally has impuned the of the President and the USG ~~xxx~~/motives/, attempting to shift responsibility to U.S. for failure of relief initiatives.

(c) Federal Military Government expects that we will make such a statement as matter of good faith in recognition of its cooperation on daylight flight proposals if Biafrans do not accept (Richardson/Arikpo and Trueheart/Gowon conversations).

(d) Our credibility with Biafrans and others (French, British, Ivorians, Gabonese, etc.) is at stake. We specifically told Biafrans that we would feel obliged to make such a statement fixing the blame if they rejected our assurances.

4. The NSC staff, which has been interested, has been informed that we are drafting such a statement for ^{Secretary's} ~~xxxx~~ possible use.

5. If Secretary decides to proceed, he may wish to coordinate with Dr. Kissinger.

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6. Decision on statement requested no later than opening of business Monday, November 10, so that we may pass advance text to FMG and other concerned governments.

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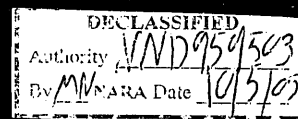
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SUBJ: Nigerian Relief - Hague Group Meeting

1. Ferguson and Pope arrive Geneva Thurs. Nov. 13

P. M. Exact arrival time to follow when confirmed.

Mod. single required for Pope. Representation suite
 required for Ferguson.

2. In addition Huydecoper appt., septel Ferguson
 requires appointments Naville, Freymond, Dabney, Chenard
 on Friday. Schedule no appointments Thursday day of
 arrival.

END

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr. <i>ccf</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11/8/69	TEL. EXT. 29624	APPROVED BY: U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr. <i>ccf</i>
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy Copenhagen
Amembassy The Hague
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LONDON

STATE _____

SUBJ: Nigerian Relief - Hague Group Meeting

1. Following itinerary Amb. Ferguson accompanied by
Pope in connection with Hague Group Meeting Geneva
Nov. 18.

~~xxxxAmbxxx Ferguson~~

Lv	D. C.	Wed. Nov. 12	4:0 PM
Ar	London	Thurs. Nov. 13	AM
Lv	London	Thurs. Nov. 13	AM
Ar	Geneva	Thurs. Nov. 13	AM/PM
Lv	Geneva	Sat. Nov. 15	AM
Ar	Copenhagen	Sat. Nov. 15	AM/PM
Lv	Copenhagen	Mon. Nov 17	PM

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U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr. *mm*

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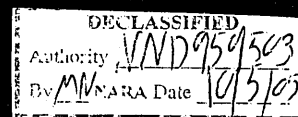
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Ar	Geneva	Mon. Nov. 17	PM
Lv	Geneva	Wed. Nov. 19	AM
Ar	London	Wed. Nov. 19	AM/PM
Lv	London	Thurs. Nov. 20	PM
Ar	D. C.	Thurs. Nov. 20	PM
2. For Geneva: See spetels re required appointments Geneva.			
For Copenhagen: Would appreciate appointment Monday morning with responsible officials Nigerian/Biafran Relief Drug Program. Request Goodman arrange accommodations for Ferguson and Pope.			
For London: Would appreciate appointments Lord Hunt and usual officials Wednesday afternoon Nov. 19.			
END <i>81807</i>			

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA Immediate
 Amembassy LAGOS Immediate
 Amembassy PARIS Immediate

STATE _____

SUBJ: Nigerian Relief

1. Following article entitled "Biafran Leaders Grow Bitter over U.S. role in War" filed by Correspondent Jim Hoagland from Owerri ~~publca~~ published Washington Post Nov. 8: Quote text Code Room ~~xxxx~~ transmit/attached clipping.

JOHNSON

END

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: John W. ~~FK~~ Foley, Jr. DRAFTING DATE: 11/8/69 TEL. EXT.: 29624 APPROVED BY: U/CF: John W. Foley, Jr.

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AF: DDNewsom (substance)

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8 Nov 69 1940Z

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ACTION: Amembassy THE HAGUE

INFO: USMission GENEVA

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REF: (A) The Hague 4350

(B) State 188917 *at*

1. Ferguson suggests meeting with Huydecoper over
dinner Mon. Nov. 17 Geneva.

END

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U/CF: CCFerguson, Jr. *cm*

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INFO: WHITE HOUSE - PLEASE PASS TO KEY BISCAYNE FOR
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STATE

EXDIS

SECUN 82

Subject: Nigerian Relief

1. Following article entitled "Biafran Leaders
Grow Bitter Over U.S. Role ~~in~~ War" filed
by Correspondent Jim Hoagland from Owerri
published Washington Post Nov. 8: QUOTE: (OC/T
text attached)

2. Per request of the Secretary, new statement
on subject being prepared for him to issue.

END

③
ok/mw
U/CF--JWF
JUL for JWF

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF--JWFoley, Jr.:jfd

DRAFTING DATE
11/07/69

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21512

APPROVED BY:

S/S-O. McLedsky

JOHNSON

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D ✓ 7		EUR -- 24-22	
C ✓ 10		NEA	
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S/PRS ✓ 13		State Rep	
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ACTION: Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE
STATE 189588

~~NODIS~~

REF: London 9178

SUBJECT: Under Secretary's Visit
FOR BRUBECK

Would appreciate having Brubeck's proposed talking points
for Paris discussion Biafra/Nigeria by opening business
Monday, November 10, so that Department may provide
requested up-to-date appraisal.

END

NODIS REVIEW

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transferred to O/FADRC
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Reviewed by: Ambassador W. Witman, II

Date: 4/2/75

JOHNSON

DRAFTED BY:

AF/N - G. B. Sherry

DRAFTING DATE

11/8/69

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 002

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04071 081731Z

44
ACTION UCF 01

INFO: OCT 01, SS 20, SR 01, PM 03, AF 05, INR 06, NSC 10, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

RSR 01, RSC 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /049 W

103587

O 081654Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3671

SECRET GENEVA 4071

LIMDIS:

1. FREYMOND, VICE PRESIDENT ICRC, ASKED DAVIDSON TO MEET HIM THIS NOON. HE EXPLAINED THAT AT EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF ICRC MEMBERS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR NIGERIAN QUESTION FOLLOWING DECISIONS REPEAT DECISIONS MADE: (A) ICRC ITSELF WILL NOT FLY RELIEF GOOD AT NIGHT. (B) COMMITTEE HOWEVER WILL MAINTAIN ITS MEDICAL TEAMS AND SOME FEEDING CENTERS IN BIAFRA. (C) TEAMS WILL BE SUPPLIED BY PLANES CHARTERED BY VARIOUS RC SOCIETIES. NORWEGIAN RC WAS MENTIONED AS STRONGEST POSSIBILITY FOR PARTICIPATION. CANADIAN, GERMAN AND SWISS RC SOCIETIES HAVE INDICATED VARYING DEGREES OF INTEREST. IN EFFECT ICRC WOULD NOT FLY AT NIGHT UNDER ITS OWN EMBLEM BUT WOULD RECEIVE MAINLY MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND SOME FOOD AT ULI FOR ITS TEAMS IN ENCLAVE FROM NATIONAL RC SOCIETIES AND OTHERS. FREYMOND OBSERVED THAT PRECEDENT FOR SIMILAR ICRC ACTIVITIES IN MIDDLE EAST. (D) ICRC WOULD SUPPORT OVERALL BUDGETS OF NATIONAL RC SOCIETIES PARTICIPATING IN NEW PLAN AND WOULD ALSO BUY MEDICINES AND TRANSFER FOOD TO THEM. BUDGET SUPPORT WOULD NOT BE CLANDESTINE BUT WOULD BE EXPLAINED AS NORMAL ASSISTANCE TO SISTER RC SOCIETIES. (E) SAO TOME AND LIBREVILLE ARE CONSIDERED MOST LIKELY STAGING AREAS. (F) ICRC WILL CONTINUE TO FUNNEL SUPPLIES THROUGH FRENCH RC, JCA AND AFRICA CONCERN AS WELL AS THROUGH THE NATIONAL RC SOCIETIES. (G) ICRC INTENDS TO MAINTAIN ITS BASE AT COTONOU IN CASE BIAFRA OVERRUN AND GRAVITY OF SITUATION INCREASES. (H) ON FEDERAL SIDE ICRC WILL MAINTAIN MEDICAL TEAMS, ITS PRISONER OF WAR ACTIVITY AND ASSISTANCE TO NIGERIAN RC. COSTS FOR FEDERAL OPERATION EXPECTED TO BE BETWEEN \$75,000 AND \$100,000 PER MONTH. (I) BUDGET FOR NEW OPERATION CURRENTLY BEING DRAWN UP FOR

SECRET

24

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11-8-69



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04071 081731Z

NOVEMBER THROUGH FEBRUARY. REPORT WILL BE WRITTEN FOR FINANCES FOR LAST FOUR MONTHS.

2. FREYMOND WAS VAGUE CONCERNING AUGMENTATION NIGHT AIRLIFT. DAVIDSON ASKED WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR TUESDAY MEETING WITH CHARGE ON QUESTIONS OF HOW MANY ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT WOULD BE NEEDED, WHERE THEY WOULD FLY FROM, AND WHAT ARE SOME OF DIFFICULTIES ANTICIPATED FROM NIGERIA AND BIAFRA. FREYMOND REPLIED THAT DECISIONS WERE MADE ONLY LAST NIGHT AND ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS ARE CURRENTLY UNDER STUDY.

3. FREYMOND STATED ICRC HOUSE WAS SPLIT BETWEEN PRO-BIAFRA AND PRO-NIGERIA FACTIONS. NAVILLE WANTED TO WASH HANDS OF NIGERIAN QUESTION BUT PRO-BIAFRANS, PRESSURE FROM SWISS GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ALSO HAD ITS INFLUENCE. FREYMOND STATED THAT HE HAS STEPPED IN TO STRAIGHTEN OUT MATTERS AND HIS CONCERN IS FOR NEITHER SIDE BUT FOR LIVES OF CHILDREN AND OTHERS SUFFERING. HE OBSERVED THAT POLITICS HAS RAISED ITS UGLY HEAD TO PREVENT RELIEF WHICH COULD SAVE LIVES. BIAFRA HE SAID IS DISCOUNTING LIVES OF ITS PEOPLE FOR POLITICAL GOALS. IN ADDITION IF HE HAD NOT ACTED WORLD IMAGE OF ICRC WOULD HAVE SUFFERED IF DISARRAY CONTINUED.

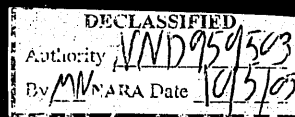
4. FREYMOND MENTIONED THAT BIGNAMI HAS SUCCEEDED IN REBUILDING RAPPORT BETWEEN ICRC AND FMG. ALL MATTERS AND ALL STOCK TRANSFERS REQUIRE COORDINATION WITH HIM. BIGNAMI PLANNING TO RETURN LAGOS TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH FMG FOR PURPOSE OF SOFTENING NIGERIAN RESISTENCE TO FUTURE INCREASE RELIEF ACTIVITIES.

5. FREYMOND EMPHASIZED THAT HE FELT IT IMPORTANT THAT HE MEET AMBASSADOR FERGUSON EITHER HERE OR IN WASHINGTON TO REVIEW TOTAL POLITICAL AND POLICY QUESTIONS ON RELIEF AS WELL AS FUTURE FINANCING. INSPITE OF POSTPONEMENT OF HAGUE GROUP MEETING FREYMOND HOPES THAT FERGUSON WOULD BE ABLE TO COME TO GENEVA ASAP.

COMMENT: FREYMOND WAS LESS THAN SPECIFIC ON WHICH RC SOCIETY WOULD BE WILLING CHARTER AIRCRAFT FOR NIGHT OPERATIONS BUT HE INDICATED THAT SCANDINAVIAN SOCIETIES WOULD BE MOST LIKELY GROUP TO BEGIN. CANADIANS ALSO MENTIONED AS POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS; THIS WEEK CANADIAN RC PRESIDENT GENERAL WRINCH MET WITH ICRC.

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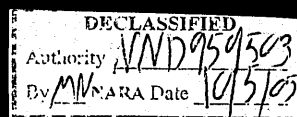
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 04071 081731Z

THURSDAY. SINCE NATIONAL RC SOCIETIES WOULD BE INVOLVED
PROFITABLE MOVE MAY BE TO CROSS CHECK THIS PLAN WITH DABNEY
LICROSS.
BASSIN

SECRET

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 665

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04067 072021Z

47-81
ACTION UCF 01

INFO OCT 01, SS 10, SR 01, PM 03, AF 05, INR 06, NSC 10, CIAE 00, RSR 01,

RSC 01, IO 04, /043: W

097441

PI 071825Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3668

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4067

LIMDIS:

STATE FOR UYCF

1. GERBER (PLEASE PROTECT) DEPUTY OPERATIONS DIRECTOR NIGERIAN DIVISION ICRC ASKED DAVIDSON TO MEET HIM AT SUBURBAN RESTAURANT TO EXPLAIN CURRENT ICRC STATE OF AFFAIRS. AT PRESENT TIME ICRC SUPPORTS IN PART ACTIVITIES OF AFRICA CONCERN, FRENCH RED CROSS AND JCA. IT PAYS FOR ONE AIRCRAFT IN LIBREVILLE FROM TIME TO TIME SENDS MEDICINE AND FOOD BY AFRICA CONCERN, AND TRANSFERS STOCKS TO JCA WHICH FLIES 10 TONS SUPPLIES FOR ICRC USE IN ENCLAVE.
2. COMMITTEE YESTERDAY MET TO DETERMINE ORGANIZATIONS'S FUTURE. OUTCOME WAS INCONCLUSIVE EXCEPT THEY DECIDED TO KEEP TWO C-97'S AND EXPLORE AIR-DROP PLAN. ICRC HOUSE NOT DIVIDED BUT SPLINTERED INTO MANY FACTIONS. SOME WISH TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY. OTHERS WISH TO SET UP SEPARATE ORGANIZATION WITH ICRC FINANCING AND FLY RELIEF MATERIAL AND MEDICINE TO SUPPORT RED CROSS TEAMS IN BIAFRA. OTHERS WISH TO CONTINUE TALKING WHILE FURTHER GROUP WOULD LIKE TO ASK GOVERNMENTS TO SET UP SEPARATE GROUP TO FLY MATERIAL FOR SUPPORT RED CROSS TEAMS.
3. ONLY VIABLE IDEA FOR RELIEF IS PLAN TO USE OR ESTABLISH SEPARATE RELIEF AGENCY WHICH WOULD FLY FOOD AND MEDICINE AT NIGHT TO BIAFRA. THIS PLAN PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED BY BASSET. AT THIS TIME ICRC HAS SIMILAR PROPOSAL FROM FRAGTELUG, THE ICELANDIC AIR CO., WHICH WITH ONE AIRCRAFT FURNISHED 37 PERCENT OF ICRC SUPPLIES AT LOWEST PER KILO DELIVERED RATE (COPY OF PLAN PREVIOUSLY

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04067 072021Z

POUCHED TO WASHINGTON). PLAN CALLS FOR USING RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS KNIGHTS OF MALTA WHICH WOULD RECEIVE ICRC MONEY FOR AIRLIFT, AND FOOD AND MEDICINE FOR SUPPORT ICRC TEAMS IN BIAFRA. TRANSFER OF STOCKS WOULD BE OVERT WHEREAS FINANCIAL SUPPORT WOULD BE AS CLANDESTINE AS ICRC SUPPORT OF AFRICA CONCERN AND FRENCH RED CROSS FROM LIBREVILLE. FRAGTFLUG WITH TWO DC-6'S OPERATING FROM ABIDJAN FOR KNIGHTS OF MALTA OR OTHER GROUP COULD DELIVER 26 TONS PER NIGHT OR 52 TONS FROM LOME OR COTONOU.

4. AT PRESENT TIME INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE INCURRING HEAVY EXPENSES (FINANCIAL REPORT POUCHED) BUT NOT EXECUTING HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE. GERBER AND MINORITY OF ICRC PERSONNEL FEEL COMMITTEE SHOULD SET UP ITS OWN AIRLIFT THROUGH A SEPARATE ORGANIZATION IN ORDER TO SUPPORT ITS TEAMS OR IT SHOULD WITHDRAW PERSONNEL FROM BIAFRA.

5. SOME MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE HOWEVER WOULD WISH USG DIRECTLY SUPPORT KNIGHTS OF MALTA OR SIMILAR ORGANIZATION WHICH WOULD FUNNEL MATERIAL TO KEEP ICRC TEAMS FUNCTIONING IN ENCLAVE.

6. DAVIDSON POINTED OUT ICRC ASKING GOVERNMENTS TO BEAR HEAT OF NIGERIAN IRE WHILE ICRC KEEPS ITS HANDS CLEAN BY RECEIVING SUPPLIES FOR ITS TEAMS IN THIS ILLEGAL CLANDESTINE MANNER. IT IS UNLIKELY GOVERNMENTS WOULD AGREE TO SUCH PROPOSAL. IF ICRC AT THIS TIME SECRETLY FUNNELING ASSISTANCE THROUGH EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS, THEIR WORKING THROUGH A LARGER ORGANIZATION WOULD NOT BE INCONSISTENT.

7. FREYMOND REQUESTED DCM TO MEET WITH HIM ON NOVEMBER 11. SAID HE WISHED TO DISCUSS CERTAIN "POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL" MATTERS. ADDED THAT HE, FREYMOND, IS SETTING ASIDE ALL OF THURSDAY MORNING (NOVEMBER 13) FOR MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR FERGUSON (PLEASE CONFIRM). FREYMOND INDICATED NAVILLE NOT IN PICTURE AT THIS TIME.

RIMESTAD

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188918

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ACTION: USMISSION GENEVA

INFO: AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

STATE

FOR DAVIDSON FROM FERGUSON

REF: THE HAGUE 4350

1. In view reftel, tentative schedule revised. Final schedule will be forthcoming.
2. FYI will probably leave Washington November 15 and arrive Geneva 17th. Firm schedule will follow during course of week.

END

JOHNSON

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: John W. Foley, Jr.	DRAFTING DATE 11/7/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF: John W. Foley, Jr.
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Department of State 188643

NIGERIA

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

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Disregard State 188190.

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188643

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

7 NOV 69 23 40Z

LIMDIS

Ref: a) Lagos 9708 b) State 187409

It now unlikely statement referenced reftels can be issued before
Monday, November 10. Will keep you informed.

189213

JOHNSON:

DRAFTED BY: *J* *AF/SN:GBSherry:ba* DRAFTING DATE: 11/7/69 TEL. EXT. 23321 APPROVED BY: *AF - David D. Newsom*

CLEARANCES:

S/PC-Mr. Ruser *clw*

S/S-Mr. Brown *clw*

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POL 27-9 Biapa-nigeria
188999

7 Nov 69 22 12Z

188999
66688

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ACTION: Amembassy PARIS

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief

REF: State 187628 ~~XXXXXXXX~~

LIMDIS

1. As agreed Steigman-Foley telcon, take no action on reftel.

now

2. Ferguson not/arriving Paris until later in month.

END

JOHNSON

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31

7 Nov 69 21 42Z

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ACTION: Amembassy THE HAGUE

INFO: USMission GENEVA

STATE

REF: THE HAGUE 4350

1. In light of Reftel 4350 revised schedule will be forthcoming. Ferguson still expects to see Huydecoper before ~~xxxx~~ meeting either The Hague or Geneva.

END

JOHNSON

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U/CF: John W. Foley, Jr.

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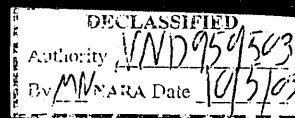
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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 20, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15,

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P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 180 W
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R 071715Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3663
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4062

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: JCA DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT

1. DAVIDSON MET HOLLIST, CHARGE OF NIGERIAN MISSION, WHO EXPLAINED THAT IN HIS TALKS WITH JCA HE STATED FMG FINDS DIRECT SAO TOME TO ULI ROUTE DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT. NORTH-SOUTH ROUTE FLYS OVER AREAS OF SIGNIFICANT MILITARY ACTIVITY. SINCE FMG WOULD BE WILLING TO PROMISE CESSATION OF AIR OPERATIONS IN AGREED UPON CORRIDORS AND ON GROUND AT ULI DURING JCA DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHT ACTIVITIES, IT COULD NOT IN EFFECT NEUTRALIZE ITS ACTIVITIES IN A PRIME WAR ZONE. SAO TOME BEING PORTUGUESE ALSO CAUSES DIFFICULTIES FOR INSPECTION. WHEN ASKED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF INSPECTION AT SANTA ISABEL AS SUGGESTED BY COMMISSIONER EXTAFRS HOLLIST REPLIED "ARIKPO WAS NOT CORRECT"; FMG CANNOT ACCEPT SUCH PLAN EVEN THOUGH EQUATORIAL GUINEA FRIENDLY COUNTRY. HOLLIST ASKED JCA TO CONSIDER MOVING OPERATION TO COTONOU. JCA STATED MOVE WOULD BE COSTLY BUT THAT IT WOULD STUDY QUESTION.

2. ON INSPECTION JCA AND FMG IN ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT THAT JCA COULD USE NEUTRAL OBSERVERS AND FMG COULD INSPECT AT SOURCE (PORTUGUESE SAO TOME AGAIN POSES PROBLEM) AND FMG WOULD MAINTAIN RIGHT OF CALL DOWN BUT WOULD USE IT SPARINGLY IF AT ALL. HOLLIST SEES LITTLE PROBLEM ON INSPECTION QUESTION IF PROBLEM OF OPERATIONS BASE AND CORRIDOR SOLVED.

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3. JCA WILL REVIEW QUESTIONS AND POSITIONS RAISED BY BOTH SIDES
AND WILL CONSULT WITH EACH GROUP SEPARATELY.
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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 20, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01,

SS 20, NSC 10, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, P 03, RSC 01, USIA 12,

PRS 01, RSR 01, AID 28, /144 W

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P R 071630Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4745
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4350

FOR U/CF

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF--HAGUE GROUP MEETING

REF: HAGUE 4314

1. AT REQUEST ICRC (BASSET), HAGUE GROUP MEETING NOV. 12 HAS BEEN SCRATCHED AND WILL BE REPLACED BY MEETING IN GENEVA AFTERNOON NOV. 18 SPONSORED BY ICRC. WE UNDERSTAND INVITATIONS WILL BE SENT BY BASSET TO ALL HAGUE GROUP COUNTRIES PLUS VATICAN.

2. FINAL DUTCH TALLY ON ORIGINAL PLAN HAD ALL HAGUE GROUP MEMBERS WILLING ATTEND EXCEPT GERMANS. ITALIANS HAD NOT BEEN ENTHUSIASTIC HOWEVER.

3. HUYDECOPER STILL LOOKS FORWARD TO SEEING FERGUSON HERE OR IN GENEVA PRIOR TO MEETING. WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED FERGUSON'S PLANS AND DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO REVISED FORMAT. GP4
BOVEY

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R 061115Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4723
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4314

FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF -- POSSIBLE HAGUE GROUP MEETING

REF: HAGUE 4249

1. FINAL DECISION RE HOLDING HAGUE GROUP MEETING NOV 12
IN GENEVA UNLIKELY BEFORE NOV 7. OF RESPONSES RECEIVED TO
DATE, SWISS HAVE BEEN STRONGLY FOR (IMPLYING ICRC BLESSING);
SCANDINAVIANS CONDITIONALLY FOR BUT WITHHOLDING FIRM RESPONSE
UNTIL NOV 6 MEETING IN COPENHAGEN; AND GERMANS STRONGLY
AGAINST ON GROUNDS ICRC HAS ALREADY EXPLORED POSSIBILITIES
AND ICRC INTERESTS BEST SERVED BY GOING IT ALONE FOR NOW.
(ASSUME GERMAN EXPLANATION MAY HIDE OTHER MOTIVES. IT NO
SECRET THAT GERMAN REP AT EARLIER HAGUE GROUP MEETINGS (ROSA-
DOWSKY) OPPOSES ANY FURTHER MEETINGS OF HAGUE GROUP.)

2. WE ASSUME FERGUSON AVAILABLE NOV 12. GP-4.
MIDDENDORF

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P R 061627Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3641
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

UNCLAS GENEVA 4035

REF: STATE 185822 - 27-9

SCHAEGLER, ICRC, AGREED TO SEND MESSAGE SUGGESTED IN REFTEL.
RIMESTAD

Geneva
4035
11-6-69

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R 062245Z NOV 69

FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9786

SECRET USUN 4022

DEPT PASS UNDER SECRETARY

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF - JCA DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON JOINED JCA-USA REPS IN BISHOP SWANSTROM'S OFFICE FOR THREE HOUR MEETING. HIGHLIGHTED BY KINNEY'S REPORT ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHT TALKS WITH FMG AND BIAFRA IN GENEVA. PURPOSE OF JCA DAYLIGHT PROPOSAL TWO-FOLD, KINNEY SAID. ENHANCE SAFETY OF CREWS AND INCREASE TONNAGE OF AIRLIFT. KINNEY SAID TALKS WILL BE KEPT SECRET UNTIL CHURCHES MEET DECEMBER 8 IN OSLO.

2. KINNEY REPORTED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ARIKPO AND KOLO ON JCA PROPOSAL. INITIALLY WHEN PROPOSAL PUT TO ARIKPO IN NEW YORK, FMG, ALTHOUGH RESENTING JCA OPERATING FROM SAO TOME, INSISTED ON TOUCH-DOWNS AT FERNANDO PO. IN GENEVA, HOWEVER, KOLO INSISTED ON OPERATIONS FROM COTONOU WITH RIGHT OF CALLOWN IN LAGOS.

3. KINNEY NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT CHANCES OF JCA FLYING RELIEF INTO ENCLAVE BY DAY, BUT FEELS DISCUSSIONS WILL "REMOVE ANY CLOUD ON OUR IMAGE. WE HAVE SAID WE FLY AT NIGHT BECAUSE WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE," HE EXPLAINED.

4. KINNEY INTERESTED IN GETTING AT LEAST TWO C-97'S FROM THE ICRC FLEET AND BISHOP SWANSTROM WANTS SOME OF THE UNSPENT CASH ICRC GOT FROM THE U. S. GOVERNMENT.

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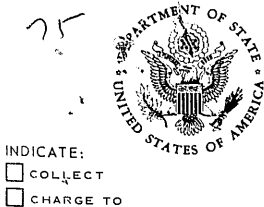
5. THE NEXT MOVE ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, KINNEY SAID, IS UP TO LAGOS. HE STATED BIAFRANS DO NOT SEEM TO BE INTERESTED IN AIR DROP PROPOSALS BECAUSE THEY DO NOT HAVE THE MANPOWER TO POLICE THE DELIVERY AREA. REPORTED COOKEY INSISTENT GETTING TALKS RESUMED ON THE CROSS RIVER PROPOSAL. KINNEY SAID HE HAD THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THE BIAFRANS ARE RUNNING OUT OF STEAM, MONEY AND TIME. DETAILS OF KINNEY'S PRESENTATION WILL BE REPORTED IN MEMCON. KINNEY, AT KOLO'S REQUEST, SET A FIGURE OF 2,000 TONS WEEKLY AS UCA'S REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DAY AIRLIFT. HE TOLD KOLO UCA STUDYING POSSIBILITY OF USING COTONOU AS OPERATING BASE, BUT KINNEY INFORMED FERGUSON THAT COTONOU DOES NOT MEET UCA'S SPACE NEEDS. ALSO TOLD FERGUSON ACCRA IS BEING CONSIDERED AS A BACK-UP, ALTHOUGH UCA PRESENTLY HAS NO INTENTION OF GIVING UP SAO TOME.

6. IN SEPARATE 12-HOUR MEETING WITH COOKEY IN GENEVA, KINNEY INFORMED THAT BIAFRANS WOULD NOT ACCEPT CALLOWN IN LAGOS, EVEN AFTER HE PROPOSED STATIONING NEUTRAL COMMISSION AT LAGOS TO MONITOR CALLOWN OPERATION. KINNEY SAID HE EMPHASIZED TO COOKEY THAT BIAFRANS DEMANDS FOR THIRD PARTY GUARANTEES OUT OF THE QUESTION. HE DID, HOWEVER, OFFER TO INSTALL ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT AT ULI TO MONITOR TRAFFIC. COOKEY, HOWEVER, WAS MORE INTERESTED IN UCA AUGMENTING EXISTING NIGHT OPERATIONS. GP. 4.
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INFO: US MISSION NATO PRIORITY
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SUBJECT: Under Secretary's Talking Points on Nigeria for London
Relief

1. ICRC flights: as HMG knows, we made one final effort meet Biafran security concern respecting daylight flights in support ICRC negotiations. Biafrans rejected our offer and we now considering public statement on status of ICRC proposal. We understand ICRC has not given up on finding variant ways of solving daylight flight problem. We hope learn more their thinking about next steps when Ambassador Ferguson goes Geneva next week. However, prospects for successful agreement not good, as Biafrans appear determined keep relief on night flight basis as cover for arms flights.

2. JCA

American and some other components of JCA very interested in getting

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their own legal daylight program in view hazardous and uncertain
future for night flights. ^{this} They have been exploring with Biafrans and
FMG. Discussions to date inconclusive and we estimate prospects no better
than ICRC for same reasons. We anticipate JCA pressures ^{on donor governments} for greater
support their ^{present} program, as relief need great and little prospect augmen-
tation by resumption of ICRC flights.

3. Cross River

Both sides have agreed "in principle" but neither really prepared
to implement. FMG cites military situation and opposition of inhabitants
along river as making route insecure. Biafrans object to FMG inspection.
Recent Biafran press statement "accepting" Cross River appears effort to
divert attention from ICRC impasse ^{to counter} and resulting political damage their
cause. ^{explore this further} However, Ferguson will ~~resume talks~~ in hope gain more flexibility
both sides.

4. Overall Prospects

Relief situation looks bad and in absence some breakthrough on
above plans will probably get worse, with resulting pressures on donor
governments and relief agencies. Biafrans seem aware their attitude has

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<p>hurt their international image but determined resist daylight flights. FMG has been quite forthcoming with both ICRC and JCA, with benefits to international image. We believe it important impress on FMG value of continued flexibility and responsiveness on seeking solution.</p> <p><u>Political</u></p> <p>1. We believe time has come for more active, cooperative role by US, UK and France in trying to get constructive negotiations between the Nigerians and Biafrans. In spite of their strong desire for a settlement, the Africans have been unsuccessful in initiating negotiations. Prospective alternatives--protracted fighting and starvation or possible bloody military victory by the FMG--are so undesirable as to warrant some effort at settlement.</p> <p>2. In addition to high level of present African interest and pressure, there are other promising factors. Both sides have professed willingness for unconditional second-level talks; but if they can be initiated, they will have to be well-planned and supported to have any success. Both sides are showing some flexibility (though the evidence is very mixed): the Biafrans this week announced that "an alternative to sovereignty</p>			
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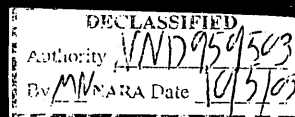
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ACTION:		AMEMBASSY LONDON SECRET - page 4	
		<p>is acceptable if their security problems are met," (later contradicted by another Biafran representative). A Nigerian spokesman (in <u>Le Monde</u>) has renewed the general amnesty offer including "foreign observers" SECRET for security. There seems to be a basis for at least exploratory talks. What is the British assessment?</p> <p>3. We have been thinking along following lines as to what would be needed for a really hopeful negotiation. We would like to explore the general idea with the British:</p> <p>(a) identification of a skilled African mediator to seek agreement of the parties to and conduct confidential, second-level exploratory talks;</p> <p>(b) seek prior UK-French-US agreement (as most important outside influences) to cooperate in developing such a mediation initiative, supporting the mediator diplomatically and materially (including influence on the two parties to cooperate);</p> <p>(c) enlisting support of Emperor and Houphouet for this initiative;</p> <p>(d) providing the mediator at appropriate time with XX</p>	
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✓ an "international presence" package as key contribution toward making settlement possible. (Since the Biafran prime concern is security, we see this as an essential precondition to settlement.) This should be a consortium of neutrals prepared to provide troops and observers for a security force, and perhaps for broader functions; the UK, France and the US could help organize, and lend material and political support; ^{but not troop} ✓

(e) in connection with this consortium, there should probably be, at appropriate time, an offer of a substantial international contribution of resources for relief, resettlement and reconstruction;

(f) in order to avoid basic political differences with French, agreement could be limited to cooperation on modalities, and on such items as an international consortium (above); we would be agreed on creating the most promising conditions for settlement, but with a mutual understanding that this is without prejudice to whatever basic political settlement the mediator and the two parties can arrive at. (Though the discussion of security]

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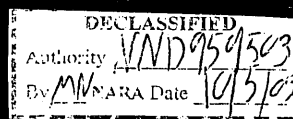
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arrangements presupposes some form of political reunion
balanced by FMG concessions.) We would appreciate
British comments on these lines of approach.

4. We hope to reach general agreement with the British
along these lines and would propose to explore the proposal
with the French on Nov. 12. Brubeck is prepared to hold
further detailed discussions with the British/^{now}~~and~~ prior to
discussion with French. If staff work can develop feasible
basis for cooperation, we envisage a UK-French-US meeting
as soon as possible to consider how to put an agreed plan
into effect.

We would emphasize that, in our ~~view~~ view, the purpose
is to get an effective mediation going as soon as possible,
work closely with the mediator, and give him fullest possible
support without assuming direct responsibility for mediation
and without the US assuming a public role. We think it -

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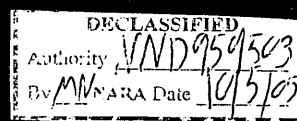
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important try to enlist French cooperation. We believe this possible on basis that we can all agree to accept whatever the parties may work out and that our commitment extends only to facilitating negotiation, not trying to determine outcome.

5. We would like to consider with the British how and when to discuss this with Lagos. We believe it can be presented to Lagos without putting in question the UK and US belief in the desirability of a reunified Nigeria. Our talks with Arikpo in Washington during which he pressed us to use influence on French lead us to believe that FMG might be receptive to approach outlined above.

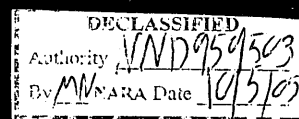
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STATE:

SECUN 53

SUBJ : Press Guidance for Under Secretary - Nigeria

1. Following is suggested guidance on Nigeria for Under Secretary's London press conference November 7.
2. Under Secretary and Foreign Minister have discussed Nigeria among other topics as matter of mutual concern.
3. The US remains deeply concerned to find an adequate x program, with the agreement of both sides, to meet the relief need in the enclave. We continue to feel that the ICRC program accepted by the Nigerian Government offers the most satisfactory solution and regret that the ICRC has been unable to get Biafran agreement.
4. We recognize, however, that only real solution to relief problem is an end to the war. We have followed with sympathy the efforts of African leaders to arrange negotiations to bring about a peaceful settlement. We are prepared, of course,

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AF/SN:WHBrubeck:bjr

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APPROVED BY:

AF - Amb. William Witman

CLEARANCES:

AF/P - Mr. Powell

U/CF - Ferguson

EUR/BMI - Mr. [unclear]

S/PC - Mr. Ruser

S/S - Mr. [unclear]

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	to give our full support to this effort, so far as appropriate to an outside government, and hope it will be possible to bring the war to an early end.	
		ROGERS
		7

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INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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STATE FOR U/CF

1. DAVIDSON MET WITH BERNHARDT (MARKPRESS) IS FRUSTRATING ONE HOUR DISCUSSION.
2. BERNHARDT EXPLAINED THAT FUROR RAISED BY PRESS CONCERNING MARKPRESS RELEASE WAS DUE TO MISUNDERSTANDING. ON ONE HAND BERNHARDT STATED BIAFRA NOT ABANDONING DEMAND FOR "SOVEREIGNTY". HOWEVER, BIAFRA WILLING TO CONSIDER CONFEDERATION WITH NIGERIA WHICH WOULD INCLUDE UNIFIED POSTAL, FINANCIAL, COMMUNICATIONS INFRASTRUCTURE BUT INDEPENDENT SECURITY SERVICES. HE ADDED DETAILS WOULD OF COURSE HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT AT PEACE CONFERENCE.
3. ON RELIEF BERNHARDT STATED NO CHANCE FOR DAYLIGHT AIR OPERATIONS BECAUSE NIGERIA WOULD USE FLIGHTS TO DESTROY ULI. CROSS RIVER IS ONLY VIABLE REMAINING PROPOSAL. HE ADDED THAT UNITED STATES COOPERATING WITH UK TO UNDERMINE BIAFRA. COMMENT: BERNHARDT BABBLES BIAFRAN LINE IN SAME MANNER HE WRITES IT.

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10

PI 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SC6 04, SCA 01, AID 28, DOD 01,

EUR 20, RSR 01, 150 W

086061

R 061400Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3637
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ROME

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4029

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF FLIGHTS.

REF: GENEVA 3954

FATHER DEREIDMATTEN, VATICAN REP, TOLD DAVIDSON AT UN BUILDING
PAPAL NUNCIO CALLED UPON NAVILLE AND URGED EXTREMELY DIS-
COURAGED ICRC PRESIDENT TO CONTINUE EFFORTS ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS
AND ON GENERAL NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN RELIEF. RELIEF WEEK WAS AGAIN
BROUGHT UP BY BOTH NUNCIO AND DEREIDMATTEN BUT MATTER FAR FROM
DECISION.
RIMESTAD

*Geneva 4029
11-6-69*

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Authority VNP 959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



59 Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04039 061744Z

42
ACTION UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,
AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 133 W

087549

R 061627Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3645
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4039

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: MARKPRESS RELEASE

1. FOLLOWING IS MARKPRESS RELEASE. UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED.
QUOTE: BIAFRA'S ONLY QUARREL WITH ICRC IS THAT ORGANIZATION HAS
CLOSED ITS EYES TO STARVATION SITUATION AT PRESENT PERIOD OF
NEGOTIATION SAID OJUKWU TO WORLD PRESS TUESDAY.

HEAD OF STATE ARGUED ICRC WHILE NEGOTIATING SHOULD HAVE ARRANGED
HAVE ITS STOCK AND FACILITIES TRANSFERRED ORGANIZATIONS WHO
STILL OPERATING SO THAT "STARVING MASSES OF BIAFRA NOT PENALIZED"
FOR INHUMANITY OF BRITAIN AND NIGERIA.

"OTHER SIDE DOES NOT WANT RELIEF COME INTO BIAFRA" OJUKWU SAID.
"IT IS CLEAR EVEN FROM SPEECHES MADE ON FLOOR OF BRITISH PARL-
IAMENT". MANY THESE SPEAKERS, HE SAID, HAVE ARGUED NIGERIA FIGHT-
ING A SIEGE WARFARE WHOSE AIM IS REDUCE BIAFRANS TO PHYSICAL
CONDITIONS THAT WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THEM CONTINUE TO
FIGHT.

NIGERIA WILL ONLY ALLOW RELIEF TO COME INTO BIAFRA, OJUKWU
CONTINUED, IF THIS WOULD ADVANCE HER WAR AIM. REVIEWING DIFFERENT
POSTURES TAKEN BY BOTH SIDES ON STALEMATED NEGOTIATIONS FOR
DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS HE SAID BIAFRA HAS CONTINUED NOT ONLY MAKE

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04039 061744Z

SUGGESTIONS BUT ACCEPTED A NUMBER PROPOSALS MADE BY OTHER SIDE.

HE WENT ON "WE EVEN ACCEPTED TO HAVE OUR AIR FORCE (SHIGH TAKES OFF FROM ULI AIRPORT IN AFTERNOON) NEUTRALIZED BY TURNING THE RUNWAY OVER TO ICRC FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS". IN ACCEPTING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, HE SAID, IT EVEN MEANT WE WERE SETTling FOR A MAXIMUM OF SIX FLIGHTS BY ICRC IN ONE DAY AS OPPOSED TO THEIR AVERAGE 21 FLIGHTS UNDER OLD NIGHT TIME AGREEMENT AND YET "WE WERE ALSO REQUIRED TO EXPLICITLY ALLOW NIGERIA TO MOUNT ATTACKS ON SAME AIRSTRIP, THE ONLY ONE WE HAVE" UNQUOTE.
DECON: ON RECEIPT
RIMESTAD

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05



29 Col 27-9 Biafra-Niger

Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 603

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04038 061835Z

51
ACTION: UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, AF 12, UPW 01, EUR 20, SS 20, NSC 10, AID 28, SCS 04,

SCA 01, RSR 01, RSC 01, 117 W

087930

R 061627Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3644

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4038

STATE FOR UCF

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN RELIEF

DABNEY, LICROSS, WILL LEAVE THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13 FOR SENEGAL
WHERE HE WILL EXPLORE WITH ALKANTERI (PHONETIC) ROLE AFRICAN
RED CROSS SOCIETIES CAN PLAY IN NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN PROBLEM
RIMESTAD

Geneva 4038
11-6-69

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CONFIDENTIAL

26

0568

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Authority VND 959503
By MWA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
TR POL 17-LUS-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 622

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09708 061801Z

54 46

ACTION AF 05

INFO OCT 01, SS 20, NSC 10, PM 03, PRS 01, UCF 01, IO 04, INR 00, CIAE 00,

USIE 00, EUR 12, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, 065 W
087619

P 061715Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
RO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9824
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

SECRET LAGOS 9708

LIMDIS

REF (A) STATE 187409; (B) STATE 180295; (C) LAGOS 9683

1. I HAD HALF-HOUR PRIVATE CHAT WITH GENERAL GOWON FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS THIS MORNING. HE RECEIVED ME WITH GREAT WARMTH AND MY IMPRESSIONS OF HIM AS A PERSON WERE ENTIRELY POSITIVE, OUTGOING, INTELLIGENT, LIMPIDLY SINCERE, UNABASHEDLY PATRIOTIC -- THE SORT OF PERSON ONE LOOKS FORWARD TO DOING BUSINESS WITH BUT TO WHOM ONE WOULD RATHER HATE TO BRING BAD NEWS.

2. HE SPOKE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY OF HIS DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN THE UNITY OF NIGERIA, INSISTING AS HE HAD IN HIS EARLIER FORMAL REMARKS THAT HE HOLDS NO MALICE TOWARD THE IBOS AND DESIRED ONLY TO PREVENT THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE COUNTRY. "WHO KNOWS," HE SAID, "HOW MANY COUNTRIES MIGHT BE FORMED FROM NIGERIA, JUST AS WHO CAN SAY HOW MANY COUNTRIES MIGHT HAVE DEVELOPED IN AMERICA IF LINCOLN HAD ACCEPTED SECESSION?" AS OTHERS HAVE REPORTED, GOWON CLEARLY SEES A PARALLEL WITH THE CIVIL WAR IN THE CURRENT NIGERIAN SITUATION AND TODAY BOTH PRIVATELY AND IN HIS FORMAL REMARKS HE INDICATED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THERE WAS NOT MORE APPRECIATION FOR AND SYMPATHY WITH THE FMG POSITION IN THE U.S.

SECRET

46

0569

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Authority VND954503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

9708
11-6-69



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 09708 061801Z

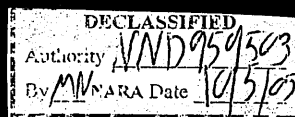
3. WITHOUT COMMENTING ON THE CIVIL WAR ANALOGY, I SAID THAT IT WAS MY IMPRESSION THAT PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN THE U.S. HAD SHIFTED DECIDEDLY IN RECENT MONTHS, IN LARGE MEASURE BECAUSE OF THE FORTHCOMING AND REASONABLE POSITION THE FMG HAD TAKEN ON THE ICRC DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. IT SEEMED, MOREOVER, THAT THE BIAFRANS RECOGNIZED THEY WERE IN A WEAK POSITION AND WERE SEEKING IN VARIOUS WAYS TO OBSCURE THE SITUATION. IT WAS THEREFORE MOST IMPORTANT THAT THE FMG MAINTAIN THEIR REASONABLE ATTITUDE AND DO NOTHING TO ROCK THE BOAT. I REFERRED AT THIS POINT TO THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE CONVEYED TO HIM BY AIDE MEMOIRE (STATE 180295) AND NOTED THAT THAT PROPOSAL HAD BEEN REJECTED BY THE BIAFRANS. I ADDED THAT A U.S. STATEMENT WAS UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION AND I HOPED TO BE ABLE TO GIVE HIM PARTICULARS VERY SHORTLY. GOWON NODDED APPRECIATIVELY BUT MADE NO OTHER RESPONSE.

4. I ALSO PICKED UP HIS REFERENCE TO BEARING NO MALICE TOWARDS THE IBOS TO ASK HIM POINT-BLANK WHETHER PREVIOUS FMG STATEMENTS RE SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR THE IBOS REMAINED UNCHANGED, CITING IN THIS CONNECTION THE RECENT MARKPRESS GENEVA STATEMENT AND THE LE MONDE ITEM QUOTING THE FMG PRESS ATTACHE IN PARIS. GOWON REPLIED WITHOUT HESITATION THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE. I REMARKED THAT, THAT BEING THE CASE, THE POSITION COULD HARDLY BE RESTATED PUBLICLY TOO OFTEN. MEMORIES ARE SO SHORT THAT THE LE MONDE STATEMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, HAD BEEN TAKEN BY THE PRESS AS BREAKING NEW GROUND.

5. APART FROM SOME DISCUSSION OF MY NAME --- GOWON SEEMS TO TAKE IT AS A PROMISING OMEN OF SORTS --- THE ONLY OTHER SUBJECT TOUCHED ON WAS THE RECENT "MINI-CON" ATTACKS ON OIL INSTALLATIONS IN THE SOUTH. I MENTIONED THAT THE AMERICAN COMPANIES WERE CONCERNED AND THAT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE PRODUCTION COULD BE SERIOUS. GOWON FELT SURE THAT AN ANSWER TO THE ATTACKS WOULD BE FOUND THROUGH IMPROVED ANTI-AIRCRAFT DEFENSES OR THE NEW DORNIER AIRCRAFT OR BOTH. HE CONSIDERED THE MINI-CONS TO BE A LAST-GASP EFFORT AND LIKENED THEM TO THE BUZZ-BOMBS OF WORLD WAR II. WITHOUT OFFERING ANY EVIDENCE FOR IT, HE GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING SUPREMELY CONFIDENT ABOUT THE FMG ABILITY TO COPE MILITARILY.

SECRET

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 09708 061801Z

6. IN PARTING, I LEFT WITH A COPY OF THE PRESIDENT'S
ADDRESS ON VIETNAM, REMARKING THAT HE MIGHT TAKE COMFORT
IN NOT BEING ALONE IN HAVING DIFFICULTIES WITH AMERICAN
PUBLIC OPINION. GP-2.
TRUEHEART

SECRET

0571

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

187389

TELEGRAM

NOV 5 PM 5 05

WB

INDICATE:
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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE: _____

SUBJ: Ambassador Iyalla's Comments on the Civil War

Following are salient points memcon of Ambassador's recent call on U/CF:

1. Iyalla had seen press reports Ferguson's Libreville press conference and was seeking info his recent trip. He was assured trip confined solely to relief matters.
2. Deploring Gabon President's recent remark that OAU Nigerian resolutions should be considered void, Ambassador commented QTE Bongo is an ass END QTE and wondered why Ojukwu would choose as a spokesman Bongo QTE one of the weakest leaders in Africa ~~xxx~~ END QTE.
3. Turning to war, Iyalla said he ~~personally~~ personally favored military solution, claiming rebels became more amenable when every military pressure applied. Although logistic problems resolved, timing of new offensive depended on Gowon who, unlike his colleagues on military council, did not favor military solution. Iyalla maintained Biafran leadership not

187389

①

DRAFTED BY: <i>HW</i>	11-5-69	DRAFTING DATE: 29311	TEL. EXT.: 29311	APPROVED BY: AF/SN - WHBrubeck <i>MB</i>
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CLEARANCES:
U/CF - Mr. Foley *inf*

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FORM DS-322 4-68

0572

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Authority: VND 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



INDICATE:
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Department of State
TELEGRAM

Page 2

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

interested in relief but only in success of their political
gamble. Added most of them enjoyed comfortable positions
before war and now more concerned about their economic
security after war than personal safety.

ROGERS

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DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

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CLEARANCES:

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0573

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

(52)



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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
187628

INDICATE:
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☐ CHARGE TO

5 Nov 69 23 43Z

187628

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy LONDON

INFO: USMission GENEVA
STATE

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief -- Cross River Talks

1. Ferguson will arrive Paris AM Tuesday Nov. 11.

Urgently desires to see Cookey re Cross River talks.

2. Suggest Embassy Paris pass word to Dike that

Ferguson desires see Cookey Tuesday Paris. Suggest
Biafran representative
Embassy London pass word to ~~Korhucha~~ to same effect.

3. Ferguson may be in London Sat. morning and available
meeting with Cookey in connection with other meeting
~~END~~
Brubeck - Cookey.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr.

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN: ~~WBS~~ Brubeck
GBSherry

DRAFTING DATE

11/5/69

TEL. EXT.

29624

APPROVED BY:

U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr.

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4-68

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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

187409

45 B

5 NOV 68 22 28z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO : USMISSION NATO

STATE: _____

SECUN: 30

LIMDIS

REF : (a) Lagos 9623 (b) State 186119

1. While statement alluded to in ref b under active consideration it now appears unlikely text will be approved in time for you to provide Gowon with it when you present credentials November 6.
2. You may allude to it as indicated paras 3 and 4 ref b but statement should be described simply as being on relief situation.
3. Text may be available for release November 7. Suggest you make tentative appointment see Arikpo that day although obviously you can not tell him real reason for appointment request. In any event we will get text to you for delivery to Arikpo before release here.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBSherry:bir
DRAFTING DATE: 11-5-69m TEL. EXT. 29311 APPROVED BY: AF/SN - WHBrubeck MB

CLEARANCES:

S/S - Mr. Lloyd ML

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0575

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By MM Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
TR POL 17-1 US NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 396

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09623 041523Z

47
ACTION AF 05

INFO OCT 01, SS 10, UCF 01, IO 04, PM 03, EUR 12, INR 06, NSC 10, CIAE 00,

SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, DODE 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, /054 W
069548

O R 041453Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9767
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LAGOS 9623

LIMDIS

REF: STATE 186119

I HOPE TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO GOWON ALONG LINES
SUGGESTED REFTEL FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS
NOW DEFINITELY SCHEDULED FOR 10:00 A.M. NOVEMBER 6. IT
WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE A TREMENDOUS BOON IF I COULD TELL HIM
DEFINITELY THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT STATEMENT IS TO BE MADE,
PERHAPS EVEN TO PROVIDE HIM WITH TEXT. IN ANY EVENT, HOPE
DEPARTMENT WILL LET ME HAVE LATEST STATE OF PLAY AT OPENING
OF BUSINESS HERE THURSDAY GP-2.
TRUEHEART

SECRET
22

0576

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGER
 186357

44B

4 Nov 69 19 47z

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ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA

STATE _____

REF Geneva 4000.

SUBJECT: RSM Thomas.

1. Thomas should return Washington direct from Geneva
 for U/CF Washington detail. May take annual leave,
 but return by November 15.

END

186357

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:HBSHishin	DRAFTING DATE 29002	TEL. EXT. 11/4/69	APPROVED BY: U/John W. Foley Jr.
CLEARANCES:			

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(59) Col 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 1310

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04010 041454Z

44
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, AF 12, EUR 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04,

UPW 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 142
069283

P 041425Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3619

SECRET GENEVA 4010

STATE FOR U/CF FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: MEETING WITH COOKEY

1. DEWEY SAW COOKEY FOR FEW MINUTES AT HOTEL CORNAVIN THIS A.M. JUST PRIOR TO HIS CATCHING TRAIN FOR PARIS. OBI WAS TO JOIN HIM ON TRIP BUT MISSED THE CONNECTION IN GENEVA. COOKEY'S ADC, EKLU (PHONETIC) WAITED TO BRING OBI TO PARIS LATER.

2. ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHT JCA TALKS, COOKEY REITERATED HIS FEELING THAT JCA PROPOSAL OFFERED NOTHING NEW OVER ICRC PROPOSAL. SAID HE HAD FAR MORE PRESSING THINGS TO DO IN OWERRI, BUT WENT TO LAUSANNE ONLY BECAUSE HE SAW ADVANTAGE OF TALKING BY DAY WHILE CONTINUING TO FLY BY NIGHT.

3. HE NOTED THAT BIAFRAN AIR FORCE WAS USING ULI INCREASINGLY DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS, AND THAT AIR ARM IS BECOMING KEY ELEMENT OF FUTURE PROJECTS. THEREFORE, COOKEY DID NOT WANT TO GET IN BOX OF TURNING ULI OVER TO DAY RELIEF USE EXCLUSIVELY, THEN FIND AIR FORCE REQUIREMENTS WOULD FORCE BIAFRANS TO TAKE IT BACK FOR THEIR "DAYLIGHT PURPOSES". WHEN DEWEY NOTED THAT MFI-9'S DO NOT NEED ULI-SIZE RUNWAYS, COOKEY AGREED, BUT GAVE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT FUTURE AIRCRAFT ACQUISITIONS WILL USE MUCH MORE OF ULI'S 8000'. ON BLACK BOX ELEMENT OF JCA PROPOSAL, COOKEY WAS SKEPTICAL. DEWEY CAUTIONED ABOUT UNWARRANTED OPTIMISM ON THIS.

4. COOKEY WAITING FOR WORD FROM FERGUSON ON CROSS RIVER. ON

SECRET

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 04010 041454Z

CUSTOMS CLEARANCE FOR RELIEF SHIPS ENTERING NIGERIAN WATERS, COOKEY SAID HE COULD DEFINITELY BE MORE FLEXIBLE. WOULD INSIST INSTEAD ON THIRD COUNTRY OBSERVERS ON BOARD VESSELS OVERSEEING NIGERIAN PRO-FORMA INSPECTION OF SHIP'S PAPERS ON ENTERING MOUTH CROSS RIVER. ON THIRD COUNTRY GUARANTEES, DEWEY ASKED DIRECTLY IF COOKEY WOULD INSIST ON SANCTIONS. COOKEY SAID SINCE SECURITY PROBLEM WAS SO MUCH DIFFERENT ON CROSS RIVER PROPOSAL, BIAFRA WOULD PROBABLY SIMPLY NOT MENTION SANCTIONS, (WITHOUT FORMALLY WITHDRAWING FORMER INSISTENCE ON THIS ELEMENT). COOKEY WAS EAGER TO KNOW IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY CHANGE IN NIGERIA'S THINKING ON CROSS RIVER, PARTICULARLY ON SECURITY PROBLEMS. DEWEY SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO ADDITIONAL COMMUNICATION, NO INDICATION OF CHANGE. RIMESTAD

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State ^{XRAGR 15}
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 OSLO 04452 041330Z

54.
ACTION: EUR 25

INFO: OCT 01, IO 13, AID 28, AF 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PPS 01

SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, 159 W

068704

R 041143Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2983
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OSLO 4452

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: NORWEGIAN CONTRIBUTION TO
WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT DECIDED ON OCTOBER 31 TO CONTRIBUTE 1,400 TONS (VALUED AT 7.7 MILLION KRONER) OF DRIED FISH TO THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM FOR USE IN THE SOUTHEAST REGION OF NIGERIA. THE GRANT WAS MADE AFTER THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM REQUESTED AN ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION FROM NORWAY IN 1969 IN THE FORM OF DRIED FISH. END UNCLASSIFIED.

2. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE. ON OCTOBER 27 FOREIGN OFFICER STATE SECRETARY JACOBSEN TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE A REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL GOVERNMENT FUNDS BY THE NORWEGIAN CHURCH EMERGENCY RELIEF (NCER) FOR USE IN BIAFRA. JACOBSEN REFERRED TO THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREEMENT COVERING RELIEF FLIGHTS, IT CONSIDERED SUCH FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRA

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ILLEGAL. NCER FUNDS HAVE BEEN USED PRIMARILY TO
SUPPORT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

3. THE EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZED
ON OCTOBER 31 AN UNRESTRICTED TWO MILLION KRONER GRANT
TO THE NCER. THIS GRANT WILL GO INTO THE NCER GENERAL
FUNDS AND IS NOT REPEAT NOT EARMARKED FOR BIAFRA.
HOWEVER, IF THE NCER USES THE MONEY FOR BIAFRAN AID,
THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT OBJECT.
CROWE

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By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

186642

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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4 NOV 69 22 34Z

Origin

Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

Nigeria:
SUBJECT:/ Times Editorial and Press Guidance

1. Times editorial November 4 said:

QUOTE: So many hopes for a peaceful settlement in Nigeria have been dashed during 28 months of civil war that indications from both sides of greater readiness for compromise inevitably generate more skepticism than hope. Yet, there have been evident advances recently in both Nigerian and Biafran positions, along with signs of more intense efforts by other African governments to restart peace talks.

The single most important advance would be a willingness by Biafra to abandon secession if security of its people could be otherwise guaranteed. This is what an official spokesman, quoted by Biafra's propaganda agency in Europe, seems to be offering. It follows an offer by a Nigerian official of important security guarantees for the secessionists, including a general amnesty and presence of international observers in the immediate postwar period.

Each side, to be sure, had made similar sounds in past; and skepticism will be heightened by the sources of the statements: an unnamed Biafran spokesman

Drafted by: AF/P:WCPower:mb 11/4/69

Tel. Ext. 20322

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck MB

Clearences:

U/CF - Amb. Ferguson (py phone)

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

0582

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Authority: VIND 954503

By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

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Origin

ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

in one case; Nigeria's press officer in Paris, writing in Le Monde, in the other. But the offers came after strenuous diplomatic activity and reports that both sides had agreed in principle to unconditional negotiations under OAU auspices.

Other African governments are still better qualified than ~~any~~ outsiders to engineer a peaceful settlement with adequate security guarantees for the Biafrans. The OAU could revalidate its name and make a strong bid for the Nobel peace prize if it could bring to an end this terrible conflict that poses a threat to African unity far beyond Nigeria's borders. UNQTE

2. Authorized contingency paper handed Department Spokesman for use included following:

A. Press reports on Biafran proposal-- We have seen press reports but we have received nothing official on the matter. If such is the case, it would, indeed, appear to be a step toward negotiating a peaceful settlement.

B. Would U.S. assist negotiation -- The USG has taken position that Nigerian civil war is a matter to be ~~h~~ settled by Africans in general and Nigerians and Biafrans in particular. We would of course lend our support to any constructive efforts to bring the war to an end. Meanwhile, our

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

Clearances:

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FORM
8-65 DS-322

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/3/03

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Origin

ACTION: Page 3 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

principal concern is with alleviating the suffering of innocent victims of this war, and we are doing all we can in this regard.

C. Imminent starvation 350,000 people -- Our information does not indicate that situation is quite as serious as report indicates. The AID mission in Nigeria is working closely with Nigerians on this problem. We are checking into the Times report and within limits of our competence, we will continue to do everything possible to get relief supplies to those who need them on both sides of the battle lines.

D. Cross River route -- We have seen press articles quoting a Biafran spokesman suggesting that the U.S. expedite Cross River proposal. As you know, implementation of Cross River proposal depends upon an acceptance by both FMG and Biafra. There are still unresolved issues between the parties which require further negotiation. Ambassador Clyde Ferguson has been actively interested in this project for some time. His efforts in this regard on behalf of USG are well documented. We would welcome ~~any~~ any breakthrough that would permit the use of Cross River route. Decontrol upon receipt.

END

ROGERS

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 019

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09600 041027Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 03, RSC 01, PRS 01,
SS 20, AID 28, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, RSR 01, UPW 01, CCO 00, 148 W
067698

P R 031741Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9750
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9600

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: JCA-FMG DISCUSSION DAYLIGHT
FLIGHTS

HOCKE (ICRC) INFORMED US TODAY THAT HE HAD HEARD FROM "SOURCES
IN LAGOS" THAT JCA REPS MET IN GENEVA LAST WEEK WITH FMG
AMBASSADOR KOLO AND DISCUSSED DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. KOLO REPORTEDLY
SAID FMG AGREEABLE BUT FLIGHTS WOULD HAVE TO START FROM COTONOU.
JCA REPS SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER PROPOSAL AND GIVE FMG
ANSWER FOLLOWING EARLY DECEMBER MEETING JCA. ACCORDING
HOCKE NIGERIAN SOURCES LAGOS EXPRESSED BELIEF JCA NOT MUCH
INTERESTED IN FLIGHTS IF THEY COULD TAKE A MONTH TO MAKE
DECISION. GP-4.
TRUEHEART

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09600 031827Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01,

SS 20, AID 20, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USUN 00, RSR 01, 147 W
062867

P R 031741Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9750
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9600

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: JCA-FMG DISCUSSION DAYLIGHT
FLIGHTS

HOCKE (ICRC) INFORMED US TODAY THAT HE HAD HEARD FROM "SOURCES
IN LAGOS" THAT JCA REPS MET IN GENEVA LAST WEEK WITH FMG
AMBASSADOR KOLO AND DISCUSSED DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. KOLO REPORTEDLY
SAID FMG AGREEABLE BUT FLIGHTS WOULD HAVE TO START FROM COTONOU.
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HOCKE NIGERIAN SOURCES LAGOS EXPRESSED BELIEF
FBX#

ET MUCH
INTERESTED IN FLIGHTS IF THEY COULD TAKE A MONTH TO MAKE
DECISION. GP-4.
TRUEHEART

NOTE: # AS RECD. WILL
SERVICE UPON REQUEST

①

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
US Mission GENEVA

LIMDIS

1. Spate of relief proposals now being discussed (ICRC, JCA, Cross River, helicopters). Numerous Biafran statements "accepting" various plans and reiterating their security problem seem to indicate they feeling hard-pressed on rejection ICRC plan and seeking restore their position by diverting attention.
2. In view present JCA and ICRC efforts find variant form legal, counter daylight plan to/Biafran security argument, believe it very important FMG demonstrate open-minded readiness to consider proposals and not reject out of hand.
3. Particularly important FMG continue demonstrate willingness and flexibility in considering relief plans if USG makes statement now under consideration here assessing responsibility on ICRC rejection, which would involve public US affirmation of confidence in FMG good faith and readiness cooperate in reasonable relief program.
4. Would be helpful in meeting with Gowon or other early occasion to stress along above lines importance continued FMG positive approach to

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:ba

DRAFTING DATE

11/3/69

TEL. EXT.

21185

APPROVED BY:

AF - David D. Newsom

CLEARANCES:

U/CF- Mrs. Shiskin (In substance)

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4-68

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By MVA Date 10/3/03



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ACTION: LAGOS PRIORITY INFO LONDON GENEVA PAGE 2

solution relief problem, acknowledging admirable FMG performance
to date. Believe HMG may be passing similar message to Glass.

END

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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

186028

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE

Subject: Nigeria - Press Summary

USAID

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1. NYT said Nov. 2 crisis in administration war relief from international agencies will result in hundreds of thousands victims in FMG-held areas facing cutoff in food donations.
2. Paper said NRC, which recently assumed responsibility for coordinating war relief in areas captured from Biafra, has announced "drastic reductions" in food distribution because it lacks funds transport food to areas affected by war.
3. Article by Charles Mohr said according to informants close to problem, crisis is product of politics, Nigerian national pride, lethargy and tangled bureaucracy.
4. "As of June 1, about 800,000 people in Nigerian-held

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AF/P:JHicks:al

DRAFTING DATE

11/3/69

TEL. EXT.

22044

APPROVED BY:

AF/P - W. Clinton Powell

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4-68

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to AmEmbassy, LAGOS

territory were receiving food", story continued. "This number has already been cut to about 500,000 to preserve dwindling stocks of food donated by foreign governments and private welfare organizations. New snag in internal transportation of food is expected by some sources to cut 350,000 more people off food rolls.

5. "Several factors have caused crisis, which probably cannot be solved quickly. First was decision of Nigerian Government last June to renounce International Committee of Red Cross as 'coordinating agency' of all relief activities by foreign agency in Nigeria.

6. "Red Cross had been spending \$700,000 a month on administration and had created what one Nigerian called 'finest wartime relief operation in history.'"

7. A source was quoted: "In fit of anger, Nigerian Government handed itself \$4-million headache." Explanation is _

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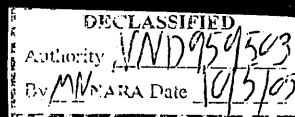
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ACTION: Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy, LAGOS

that although Nigerian Red Cross hopes to cut administrative costs to about \$300,000 monthly, it will have to get sum from government.

8. NYT said Government decision to end Red Cross's coordinating role evidently was taken partly because Red Cross had sent food to Biafra and partly because Govt officials resented criticism and argument from Red Cross officials. First announcement in June said all relief operations would be directed by National Rehabilitation Commission, which then did not exist and which has still ~~xxx~~ never met, article said.

9. "International Red Cross continued act as coordinator until Oct. 1," article said. "But since Government had announced that the body was 'no longer competent' to appeal for aid on behalf of Nigeria, no new calls went out and almost no food had entered Nigeria for four months."

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TEL. EXT.

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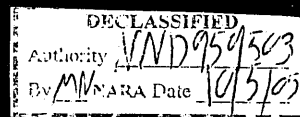
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Department of State
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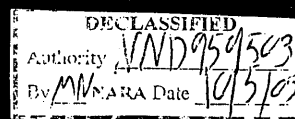
DISTRIBUTION	ACTION: Page 4 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS		
	<p>10. "It is estimated that 75,000 to 100,000 people 'may die quickly unless they are fed,' according to Dr. Jonathan Berall, xxx doctor of United States Communicable Disease Center at Atlanta, Ga., on loan as chief medical adviser to Nigerian Red Cross.</p> <p>11. "He also estimated that 350,000 people who were likely to be cut from relief rolls by the 'drastic reduction' were people who could survive initially but 'who are in danger of becoming very ill' if food is denied for an extended period."</p> <p>END</p> <p>ROGERS</p>		
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09599 031811Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01,
SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /156 W

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P R 031745Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9751
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NY

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 9599

SUBJECT: DAY FLIGHTS AND DAY AIR DROPS

1. HOCKE (ICRC) RAISED SUBJECT OF AIR DROPS IN CONVERSATION WITH DEPERMSEC MIN EXTAFF ENAHORO TODAY. ENAHORO ACCORDING HOCKE DID NOT RPT NOT REJECT IDEA, SAID FMG OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS BUT THAT TIME NOT APPROPRIATE FOR SUCH DISCUSSIONS RIGHT NOW. HOCKE ASSUMES ENAHORO HAD IN MIND POSSIBLE PEACE DISCUSSIONS. HOCKE PLEASANTLY SURPRISED THAT ENAHORO DID NOT RPT NOT FLATLY REJECT IDEAS BUT CONVINCED NO RPT NO PROFIT IN TRYING TO PRESS HIM FURTHER AT THIS TIME.

2. IN COURSE CONVERSATION HOCKE SAID ENAHORO COMMENTED THAT NOW THAT OJUKWU HAD DEFINITELY TURNED DOWN ICRC PROPOSAL HE NOTED VERY LITTLE CRITICISM HAD BEEN VOICED. HE DID NOT RPT NOT MENTION THAT US HAD NOT MADE STATEMENT BUT DID NOTE THAT CANADIANS HAD. GP-4.
TRUEHEART
BT

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Authority VMD959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

(11)



~~S/S Pending~~

RS/R FILES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Attention *Muller* *Yes*
Keep this study together.

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S/S to:

16993

November 1, 1969

S
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U/CF
AF
S/S-RF

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Presidential Statement
On Biafran Relief

On instruction from Under Secretary Richardson I am enclosing a proposed Presidential Statement on the impasse of Red Cross relief to Biafra. This draft is the result of extensive discussions with the NSC staff.

The Under Secretary recommends that the statement be released early next week.

for *Robert L. Eliot, Jr.*
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Proposed Presidential Statement
On Relief In Nigerian Civil War

(2)

MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XE POL 15-1 US/NIXON

0594

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Authority VND 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

The Secretary

On instructions from the Under Secretary, we have forwarded to ~~Henry~~ Kissinger the enclosed proposed Presidential Statement on the impasse over Red Cross relief to Biafra.

The Under Secretary wanted you to see the proposed statement.

T. L. F.

The proposed statement ~~is~~ was cleared by Messer Newsome Ferguson

(S) U, J, C, D
U/C F
AF

0595

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Authority VND 950503
By MN NARA Date 05/05

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
ON RELIEF IN NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

I must report with deepest regret a serious setback to a vigorous and concerted international effort to expand the flow of relief to the suffering civilian victims of the Nigerian Civil War.

As I pledged shortly after taking office, this Government has dedicated both generous contributions and extraordinary diplomatic activity to relieve the human anguish and suffering in this tragic conflict.

It was in this spirit that we supported the recent proposal of the International Committee of the Red Cross for a program of daylight relief flights into Biafran-held territory. Such flights would have allowed the resumption of Red Cross relief which had been suspended since June 30 when the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, because of the scrambling at night of arms flights and relief flights, declared that it would no longer permit night flights across its territory.

On September 13 the ICRC concluded an agreement with the Government of Nigeria allowing an internationally-inspected and militarily-inviolable relief airlift during

POL 29-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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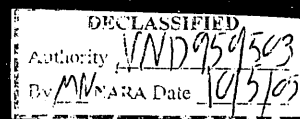
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By	MMNARA
Date	10/3/05

daylight hours for an experimental period with the prospect of renewal. The Biafran authorities refused, however, to accept such flights--principally on the grounds that they could not rely on either the Red Cross or the Federal Government to assure that the daylight airlift would not be violated by a surprise attack on the Biafran airfield, the vital terminus for their arms supply. They asked instead that they be given third-party assurances as to the good faith of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

To meet this concern, the Government of the United States at my direction took the following steps:

- (1) We sought and received the solemn assurance of the Federal Government of Nigeria that it would see to it that no hostile military action would be taken against the ICRC relief airlift.
- (2) After consultation with us, the Government of Canada agreed to offer Canadian soldiers as impartial observers to accompany ICRC aircraft on their relief flights.

0597



- (3) Our relief coordinator, Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson, went personally to West Africa to give the Biafrans the specific assurance of the United States that we accepted as made in good faith the solemn pledge of the Government of Nigeria as to the inviolability of the ICRC daylight relief flights.

On October 24, 1969, the Biafran authorities formally rejected this assurance.

The result is tragic. We firmly believe that the ICRC proposal is realistic and reasonable. We consider that the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, in agreeing to the ICRC proposal, acted in full accord with its humanitarian responsibilities. We believe that the integrity of the ICRC, the safeguards incorporated in the ICRC relief program, and the assurances of the United States Government should adequately satisfy the legitimate security concerns of the Biafran authorities.

0598

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By	MW NARA Date 10/3/03

Innocent civilians within Biafran-held territory are in desperate need of food and medical supplies. The United States stands ready to continue its aid to these helpless victims of the Nigerian war. We earnestly hope that the Biafran leadership will reconsider its position.

o

0599

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954/503
By	MM NARA Date 10/3/05

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Presidential Statement
On Biafran Relief

On instruction from Under Secretary Richardson I am enclosing a proposed Presidential statement on the impasse of Red Cross relief to Biafra. This draft is the result of extensive discussions with the NSC staff.

The Under Secretary recommends that the statement be released early next week.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Proposed Presidential Statement
On Relief In Nigerian Civil War

POL 29-7 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

0600

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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INDICATE:
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ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE _____

FOR DEWEY FROM U/CF.

REF: State 172388; Lagos 9481

SUBJECT: Departure LSM's.

1. To counter continuing rumors sale or other disposition LSM's, Fletcher asks if he could receive telegram from ICRC stating QUOTE This is to inform you that vessels Dona Mercedes and Dona Maria departing Nigerian waters not later than November 11 and November 22 respectively for direct return to Jacksonville and completion contract. UNQUOTE.

2. Address Edwin H. Fletcher, 218 West Church Street, Jacksonville, Florida.

3. Please convey foregoing suggestion to ICRC and express our hope they will comply.

END

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:HBSHishkin	DRAFTING DATE 11/3/69	TEL. EXT. 29002	APPROVED BY: G. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.
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CLEARANCES:

AFR/CWA:HWilson

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FORM FS-413
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04002 031840Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, UCF 05, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04,

UPW 01, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, 160 W

062947

R 031755Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3611
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T GENEVA 4002

SUBJECT: JCA DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

REF: GENEVA 3988 (NOTAL)

1. AT LUNCHEON WITH CHENARD (CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES) TODAY, DEWEY EXPLORED DEVELOPMENTS ON JCA DAYLIGHT FLIGHT TALKS WITH NIGERIANS AND BIAFRANS, FIRST ROUND OF WHICH JUST CONCLUDED IN LAUSANNE.

2. BIAFRAN DELEGATION NUMBERED FOUR AT HIGHEST POINT, CONSISTED OF COOKEY, OBI, BIAFRAN REP IN LONDON AND ANOTHER MEMBER WHO ACCOMPANIED COOKEY ON LAST THURSDAY'S MARTINAIR CHARTER FROM SAO TOME. KOLO AND HOLLIST REPRESENTED NIGERIANS. DUE TO KOLO'S OBJECTIONS, TALKS WERE NOT REPEAT NOT FACE TO FACE. KINNEY AND CHENARD SHUTTLED BACK AND FORTH IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH DELEGATIONS.

3. KOLO CHARMED THEM WITH HIS REPEATED REFERENCES TO "BROTHERHOOD" "MY BEST FRIENDS ARE ISOS", ETC. AND IMPRESSED THEM WITH HIS PRIVATE CHANNEL TO GOWON. AND, PREDICTABLY HE WAS INTERESTED IN GETTING AGREEMENT WITH JCA ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

4. THE BIAFRANS RAN UP THEIR AGING GUARANTEE DEMANDS, MAKING

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 0400Z 031840Z

CLEAR THEIR REQUIREMENT FOR SANCTIONS. JCA ENVISAGES A SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRY AS A THIRD PARTY GUARANTOR (REFTEL), ACCORDING TO CHENARD. NOT SURE WHICH YET, BUT CONSIDER NORWAY FRONT RUNNER. PLAN TO USE SCANDINAVIAN RELIEF AGENCIES TO PUT PRESSURE ON GOVERNMENTS TO PLAY GUARANTOR ROLE, USING THREAT OF RECOGNITION AS SANCTION.

5. CHENARD WANTED MORE INFORMATION ON "BLACK BOX" SECURITY ASSURANCES. DEWEY POINTED OUT ITS CRIPPLING LIMITATIONS, NOTING USG HAD CONSIDERED THEM SO LIMITING THAT FURTHER CONSIDERATION SUCH ELECTRONIC DEVICES AS PART OF JULY AIRFIELD SECURITY PACKAGE NOT WARRANTED. (BIAFRANS SKEPTICAL ON THIS POINT TOO. ASKED HOW MIG FROM CUBA GOT THROUGH TO MIAMI).

6. CHENARD NOTED BIAFRAN INTEREST IN "FLYING BY DAY, TALKING BY NIGHT" PHILOSOPHY (THOUGH OCCASIONALLY BOTH WERE CONDUCTED AT NIGHT DURING LAUSANNE ROUND, ONE FIVE HOUR SESSION LASTING WELL INTO EVENING HOURS). KINNEY PLANNING COMPLETE BRIEFING FOR FERGUSON IN WASHINGTON ON DETAILS OF PROCEEDINGS.

7. DEWEY WILL ATTEMPT TO CONTACT COOKEY WHO IS NOW IN GENEVA. HIS ADC ASKED CHENARD TODAY ABOUT GETTING THEM RETURN TICKETS TO BIAFRA. CHENARD PROMISED TO HELP, PLANS TO PUT THEM ON PLANE TOMORROW.
RIMESTAD

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04000 031710Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, AF 12, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, RSC 01, /037 W
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P 031638Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3609

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4000

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: RSM THOMAS

REQUEST TDY ORDERS FOR GEORGE THOMAS, JR. (U/CF) NUMBER S-000153
DTD SEPTEMBER 16, 1969 BE EXTENDED FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1969 UNTIL
DECEMBER 31, 1969 FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONTINUING RSM.
RIMESTAD

Geneva 4000
11-3-69

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Pol 2 79 Biafra Nigeria

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03999 031651Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00

PM 05, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, AID 28, E 15, DOT 12, RSR 01,

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O R 031630Z NOV 69 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3608
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3999

FERGUSON FROM DEWEY

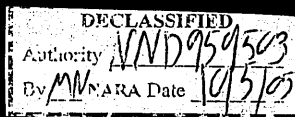
SUBJECT: MARKPRESS RELEASE

FOLLOWING EXCERPT FORWARDED ON CROSS RIVER PORTION OF OJUKWU'S OCTOBER 31 SPEECH AT AKOKWA TO CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY. AS NOTED OJUKWU DID BUY COOKEY'S AND AKPAN'S INPUTS ON THE CROSS RIVER. REMAINING TEXT IN SEPTEL. UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED. QUOTE: BIAFRA STILL BELIEVES IN AMERICAN CROSS RIVER RELIEF PROJECT, AND WOULD WANT USG TO SEE THAT IT CARRIED THROUGH WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY. OJUKWU TOLD NATION'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY IN CONTINUED 90 MINUTE MARATHON ADDRESS YESTERDAY. SCHEME INCLUDED PLANS ACQUIRE SHIPS TO COME UP TO CROSS RIVER AND SAIL UP TO IKOT OKPORO WHERE RELIEF COULD BE DISCHARGED AND TAKEN OVER BY RED CROSS FOR DISTRIBUTION WITHIN BIAFRA WAS PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT NIXON'S RELIEF AMBASSADOR TO BIAFRA, PROF. C. CLYDE FERGUSON. PROPOSAL READILY ACCEPTED BY BIAFRA, BUT SO FAR NOT IMPLEMENTED. INSTEAD TWO SHIPS REPORTED SENT FOR OPERATION FIRST LANDED AT LAGOS AND LATER HANDED OVER TO NIGERIAN RED CROSS.

OJUKWU WHO APPARENTLY DISAPPOINTED BY INABILITY OF NIXON'S ADMINISTRATION CONFORM TO ITS ELECTION STANCE APPEALED TO NIXON "TO LIVE UP TO THE STRONG HUMANITARIAN SENTIMENTS MADE TO THE

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WORLD BEFORE HIS ELECTION."

TOLD CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY THAT "NIXON HIMSELF DID ACKNOWLEDGE FACT OF GENOCIDE AGAINST BIAFRA" AND QUOTED NIXON SAYING "TIME HAS LONG PASSED FOR RINGING OF HANDS ABOUT WHAT IS GOING ON."

IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, OJUKWU CONSIDERED CROSS RIVER RELIEF PROJECT "OFFERED BEST HOPE" AND SAID: "BIAFRAN REPS WERE READY TO DISCUSS WITH FERGUSON OR HIS REPS IN OR OUTSIDE BIAFRA TO FINALIZE ARRANGEMENTS TO QUICKEN EXECUTION OF PROJECT." BIAFRAN LEADER DESCRIBED NIXON AS "A GREAT MAN OF INTERNATIONAL HONOR" AND CALLED ON HIM "TO LIVE UP TO HIS WORD". UNQUOTE. DECON ON RECEIPT RIMESTAD.

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, NEA 13, IO 13, AF 12, EUR 20, UPW 01, AID 28, E 15, DOT 12,

ACDA 16, TRSY 11, SR 01, ORM 03, IGA 02, SCS 04, SCA 01, PSR 01, RSC 01,

/160 W

063419

R 031830Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3613
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF: ICRC C-97G-1S

REF: STATE 185001

STATE FOR U/CF

1. IN VIEW COSTS, INCONVENIENCE, OF STORAGE AND RECONDITIONING IT APPEARS PREFERABLE LEAVE AIRCRAFT IN BALAIR CARE. DISCUSSED WITH BERSBACH TODAY. HE GENERALLY FEELS SAME WAY AND WILL PROVIDE US WITH COST ESTIMATES ASAP TO HELP MAKE DECISION.

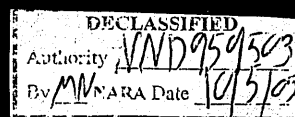
2. RE PARA 4 REFTEL, SPECIFYING WHICH PLANE TO REPLACE CRASHED C-97, SOMEWHAT ACADEMIC. REQUEST FOR SECOND ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT (ALREADY APPROVED BY UNDERSECRETARY) NO DOUBT FORTHCOMING. BALAIR WILL PUSH JCA ON THIS SINCE IT NOW IMPERATIVE TO HAVE TWO AT TEL AVIV TO BACK UP RAPID OVERHAUL REST OF JCA C-97 FLEET. THIS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL SINCE VISIT FAA INSPECTORS LAST WEEK TO SAO TOME. IN ADDITION TO GIVING ORAL EXAMS, THEY INSPECTED C-97'S AND GROUNDED ALL BUT ONE WHICH HAD BEEN THROUGH TEL AVIV. GERSBACH CONFIDENT HE CAN REPAIR THEM ON SAO TOME TO MEET FAA STANDARDS, BUT MOST ANXIOUS TO COMPLETE OVERHAUL IN TEL AVIV ASAP.
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03988 011326Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, USIE 00, ACDA 16, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

UCF 05, EUR 20, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, E 15, DOT 12, RSR 01, 185 W
----- 054017

O R 011305Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3598
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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SUBJECT: JCA DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. IN ENCOUNTER AT ZURICH AIRPORT TODAY OBI TOLD DAVIDSON THAT HE AND COOKEY MET WITH JCA REPS IN LAUSANNE ON JCA DAYLIGHT FLIGHT QUESTION. JCA PROPOSED PLAN WHICH INCLUDES MECHANICAL DEVICES TO INSURE SECURITY ULI AIRPORT AND POLITICAL SANCTIONS CONSISTING OF THREAT OF RECOGNITION BY MAJOR GOVERNMENT IF ULI ATTACKED AS RESULT OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT.
2. OBI STATED BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES WILLING TO CONSIDER THIS PROPOSAL BUT WILL AWAIT WRITTEN VERSION BY JCA.
3. OBI HAS TRANSFERRED HIS OFFICE TO BONN BUT WILL BE IN GENEVA ON THURSDAY.
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12:

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, UPW 01, UCF 05, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, EUR 20, RSR 01, 160 W
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R 015810Z NOV 69

FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2938

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 1168

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

REF: SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS WEEK OF OCTOBER 27:
 - A. DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTLY OCTOBER 29 THROUGH NOVEMBER 2 (5 FLIGHTS)
 - B. DC-7 TR-LIK NIGHTS OCTOBER 27 AND 28 (2 FLIGHTS)
 - C. DC-7 "OBLIT" NIGHTS OCTOBER 27 AND 28 (2 FLIGHTS)
2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS WEEK OF OCTOBER 27:
 - A. DC-4 F-BRHE NIGHTLY OCTOBER 27 THROUGH 30 AND NOVEMBER 2 (5 FLIGHTS)
 - B. DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHTS OCTOBER 30 AND NOVEMBER 1 (2 FLIGHTS)
 - C. DC-6 OO-HEX NIGHTS OCTOBER 27 AND 28 (2 FLIGHTS)
 - D. DC-6 OO-GER NIGHT NOVEMBER 1 (1 FLIGHT)
 - E. CONSTELLATION F-BRAD (SEE PARA 3E BELOW) NIGHT NOVEMBER 2 (1 FLIGHT)
3. REMARKS:

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A. PRESUMED DC-7 ARMS CARRIERS TR-LOK AND "OBLIT" BOTH DEPARTED LIBREVILLE EVENING OCTOBER 29, APPARENTLY AFTER MOVING MAJOR PORTION OF LATEST ARMS SHIPMENT THROUGH HERE (LIBREVILLE'S 1096 PARA 3A), AND HAVE NOT RPT NOT RETURNED.

B. DC-6 REG. NO. TR-LOX, FUSELAGE PAINTED WHITE OVER AND SILVER UNDER WITH BLUE NOSE, BLUE TAIL, WIDE BLUE STRIPE ALONG SIDES, AND "APOLLO" LETTERED ON NOSE, ARRIVED HERE NOVEMBER 1 AND PARKED IN MILITARY AREA. NOTE THAT TR-LOX IS CLOSE IN REG. NO. SERIES TO OTHER GABONESE-REGISTERED, PRESUMED ARMS CARRIERS, BUT TO DATE HAS MADE NO KNOWN NIGHT FLIGHTS.

C. YET ANOTHER AIRCRAFT OF SAME REG. NO. SERIES, DC-7 TR-LOJ WITH BLUE/GRAY PAINT JOB IDENTICAL TO PRESUMED ARMS CARRIERS TR-LOK ETC., ARRIVED HERE NOVEMBER 5 WITH NON-MILITARY CARGO, UNLOADED IN CIVILIAN AREA, AND DEPARTED SAME DAY. CARGO NOT RPT NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED.

D. FRENCH RED CROSS RELIEF CARRIER DC-4 F-BRAP, DOWN WITH ENGINE DIFFICULTIES SINCE OCTOBER 21, RESUMED REGULAR ACTIVITY NOVEMBER 3 WITH NEW ENGINE AND CREW.

E. WHITE CONSTELLATION WITH RED/BLUE HORIZONTAL FUSELAGE STRIPES AND REG. NO. F-BRAD, ARRIVED HERE OCTOBER 31 AND BY NOVEMBER 3 WAS MAKING REGULAR NIGHTLY FLIGHTS OUT OF CIVILIAN AREA. ACCORDING FRENCH AMBASSADOR DELUANEY, THIS AIRCRAFT NEWLY CHARTERED TO FRENCH RED CROSS FOR TRANSPORT RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO BIAFRA. AIRCRAFT INTERMITTENTLY ACTIVE HERE UP TO DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR BUT NOT SEEN SINCE.

F. OPERATION AFRIC CONCERN CHARTER DC-6 00-HEX MADE TWO-DAY TRIP AWAY FROM LIBREVILLE OCTOBER 30 TO NOVEMBER 1, POSSIBLY CARRYING BIAFRAN CHILDREN TO RECEPTION CENTER OUTSIDE GABON. AIRCRAFT THEN DEPARTED AGAIN NIGHT NOVEMBER 1 AND HAS NOT RETURNED.

4. RESUME:

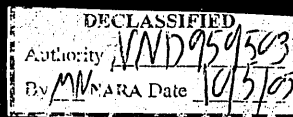
A. WEEK OF OCTOBER 13: 6 ARMS FLIGHTS, 17 RELIEF FLIGHTS

B. WEEK OF OCTOBER 20: 16 ARMS FLIGHTS, 18 RELIEF FLIGHTS

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C. WEEK OF OCTOBER 27: 9 ARMS FLIGHTS, 11 RELIEF FLIGHTS.
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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 USIE-00
UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 RSR-01 /148 W
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O P 011629Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 203
INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

*Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria*

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10369

SUBJ: NEW DUTCH RELIEF INITIATIVE

REF: THE HAGUE 4556, 4580

1. DUTCH AIB (PROTECT) INFORMED DCM OF NEW DUTCH INITIATIVE TO INCREASE FLOW RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO ENCLAVE. UPON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE HAGUE, AMB DE WAAL ON NOV. 22 PRESENTED NOTE TO ENAHORO OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. NOTE STATES THAT DUTCH GOVT CONCERNED BY SITUATION IN BIAFRA HAD DECIDED TO MAKE AVAILABLE FOR FOOD TRANSPORT INTO ENCLAVE NETHERLANDS AIRCRAFT AND CREWS IF "AN ACCEPTABLE INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENT CAN BE FOUND." NOTE SAID THAT ALL FLIGHTS WOULD BE MANNED BY GONETH PERSONNEL AND WOULD BE UNDER STRICTEST GONETH CONTROL. NOTE ADDED SUCH FLIGHTS MIGHT TAKE PLACE ALONG LINES AGREED BETWEEN FMG AND ICRC.

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2. DE WAAL SAID ENAHORO'S INITIAL REACTION TO NOTE WAS SOMEWHAT TRUCULENT POINTING OUT THAT FMG STRONGLY OPPOSED TO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN NIGERIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. AFTER INITIAL OUTBURST ENAHORO BECAME MORE REASONABLE AND SAID HE WAS HOPEFUL FOR FAVORABLE ACTION ON ICRC (BIGNAMI'S) PROPOSAL FOR MODIFICATION OF THE MILITARY CLAUSE IN FMG-ICRC AGREEMENT, POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS THIS WEEK'S MEETING OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. HE SAID DUTCH INITIATIVE CUTS ACROSS ICRC PROPOSAL. ENAHORO LATER DISCUSSED DUTCH PROPOSAL WITH EXTAFF COMMISSIONER ARIKPO WHOSE REACTION ACCORDING TO ENAHORO WAS THE SAME AS HIS OWN.

3. AMB DE WAAL IS REPORTING THESE REACTIONS TO THE HAGUE TODAY AND IS NOT HOPEFUL THAT ANYTHING MORE FAVORABLE IS LIKELY TO BE FORTHCOMING FROM THE FMG.

COMMENT: IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT FMG NOW APPEARS TO HAVE BECOME A PARTISAN OF THE ICRC. WE AGREE WITH FMG THAT THIS INITIATIVE NOT HELPFUL TO ICRC PROPOSAL AND HAS LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS. DE WAAL REQUESTS THE ABOVE NOT BE DISCUSSED WITH DUTCH REPRESENTATIVES UNLESS THEY BRING MATTER UP. GP-3
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